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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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BELGIUM'S ADVENTURES IN REDEEMING MEN

JOHN L. GILLIN

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IT IS NOT strange that throughout history it has been the small country or countries which may be described as being in the social pioneer belt which have tried out new experiments and devised new methods for the socialization of her criminals. Even in the days of John Howard, it was in Holland and Belgium that he found the best institutions for the treatment of criminals. Today Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium are the experiment stations of Europe in this field, unless one includes the new prisons of Russia which I have not studied; if they be included, you have there also a pioneer social belt since the government of Russia is an entirely new experiment in every way. As we have seen, in the Philippines and in India where we have a pioneer social belt for reason of the necessity of organizing a new social relationship—in the one by reason of the conquest of the Philippines by the United States and in the other by reason of the reorganization of political and social life in the Indian Empire under the British Government.

BELGIUM'S HISTORY IN PENAL PRACTICE

In the latter part of the eighteenth century when prison reform was in the air in all western Europe, Count Vilain

XIV created the *Maison de Force* at Ghent in 1775. This institution was visited by John Howard on his first visit. In it he saw a new kind of prison from which many lessons might be learned.¹

Whether or not, as suggested by a recent Belgian penologist,² the description of this institution in Ghent provided the founders of the Auburn prison in New York State with their idea of separate confinement of each man at night and work in common during the day, it is true that that was exactly the way in which that institution at Ghent was managed. This institution was in striking contrast with the other Belgian prisons of those times.

The separate or Pennsylvania system of prisons was introduced about 1845 by the director of prisons, Dubec-traux, who became inspector general of prisons about 1830. As the result of his fifteen years of work previous to the time of the establishment of the cellular system and doubtless also of the discussions which were being carried on in America and Europe as to the respective merits of the Pennsylvania and the Auburn systems, he became convinced of the superiority of the cellular system and put it into operation throughout all the prisons of Belgium. The cellular or separate system became a dogma which by 1904 had shown itself from the statistics as producing more recidivism than the old Auburn system which it had displaced.³

Following the World War when Belgium's institutions were again taken charge of by the Belgian government, a number of practical prison reforms were introduced. These reforms had two phases: (1) proposed changes in many of the laws relating to the treatment of prisoners. A report has been made on these proposed changes and the sugges-

¹ Howard, *State of Prisons* (Warrington, 1777), pp. 140-44.

² Delierneux, *Prisons Nouvelles; Lois Nouvelles* (ms), p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5.

tions are now under consideration. (2) In the meantime, however, the administrative reforms have gone forward and have been quite largely accomplished.

The proposed legal changes represent an endeavor to bring penal theory as expressed in the law into accordance with the findings of science as to the differences between individual prisoners. They contemplate different treatment for (1) abnormals (dements, mental defectives); (2) recidivists; (3) young delinquents.

The administrative reforms realized in large part at the present time include the following: (a) individual study and classification of delinquents by what is called the penitentiary anthropological service. This was created by Mr. Vandervelde in 1920. It included the psychiatric examination. Belgium is divided into seven regions in each of which is a penitentiary anthropological laboratory in the most important prison of each region. Every person condemned to more than three months' imprisonment is examined in one of these laboratories as a routine matter. Thus the normal prisoners are separated from (a) the abnormal, (b) the tubercular, (c) the venereal, (d) the nervously unstable, (e) the dope addict, alcoholics, etc. Each one of these various classes is then sent to the institution adapted to his special treatment. Thus the tuberculars are sent to the prison sanatorium, the venereals to the section of the prison set apart for them, the epileptics and hysterical to the special institution for them, and the young normal delinquents to the prison schools.

The creation of these special institutions has all been planned for. The following have been created: (1) prison schools for young delinquents; (2) ordinary industrial prisons for normal prisoners who are believed to be corrigible; (3) cellular prisons for recidivists, the undisciplined, the incorrigible, and the vicious, which are the old

cellular prisons which have existed since 1845; (4) the penitentiary hospital located at Ghent; (5) the prison sanatorium located at Merxplas; (6) the section for venereals in each of the principal prisons; (7) prisons for the nervously unstable including epileptics and hystero-epileptics at Merxplas; and (8) asylum for the criminal insane, for the insane criminals and those who have been accused of crime who are irresponsible for one reason or another, located at Tournai. The colony institutions are contemplated in the system but have not yet been provided: (1) sanatoria for alcoholics and dope addicts, (2) a prison asylum for degenerates and feeble-minded, (3) a special section in already existing institutions for kleptomaniacs, for foolish and for sexual maniacs.

The first new institution to be created in the sense of the reform intended is the penitentiary establishment at Merxplas. This establishment comprises a number of institutions as follows: (1) a prison agricultural school for young delinquents, (2) a prison for condemned epileptics and hystero-epileptics, (3) a prison sanatorium for condemned tuberculars, (4) a prison asylum for the feeble-minded. Three of these are in existence and the fourth will be created as soon as the budget permits.⁴

A word perhaps should be said about each of these institutions at Merxplas. The prison sanatorium for the tubercular is the first one ever established of its kind on the continent and perhaps in the world. It is a large establishment where 210 tuberculars may be taken care of at a time. It is equipped in modern fashion and provides modern care for the tubercular. Since it is a new institution, time enough has not yet elapsed to enable us to appraise its results.

In the prison for the nervously unstable are placed the epileptics and hystero-epileptics, for the most part pro-

⁴ Delierneux (ms.).

foundly defective, perverted, dangerous, and condemned to severe punishment, and who constitute in the ordinary sense the elements of trouble and disorder. By thus separating them from the normal prisoners, better care can be given to these prisoners suffering from profound disorders, and at the same time better conditions can be provided for the normal prisoners by themselves. Furthermore, the normal prisoners are not exposed to the danger of moral degeneration. Among them are many epileptics who became such because of the injuries received on the head during the war. Among them are many recidivists who should not be lightly discharged into society.

Of vastly greater social importance and much more helpful from the standpoint of treatment are the young delinquents. For them Belgium has provided two institutions—an industrial prison school at Ghent and an agricultural prison school at Merxplas. In these institutions the purpose is, not punishment, but moral regeneration and social readaptation. Those in charge of these institutions in Belgium hold to the view that for the most part these young delinquents are more the victims of bad heredity, of bad surroundings in the home and in the community, than of inherent evil.

It is because the Belgian authorities realize that the majority of young delinquents are the victims of social conditions over which they have no control, that Mr. Vandervelde, then Minister of Justice, in 1921 established the prison schools. In these institutions are placed young delinquents from the ages of sixteen to twenty-one years; eventually it is hoped that the age may be extended from twenty-one years to thirty. The institution at Ghent employs these young prisoners in industrial activities, while the one at Merxplas engages them in agriculture and allied professions.

The selection of these inmates takes place in the penitentiary anthropological laboratories noted above, where the dangerous, mentally deficient, and sexual pervert are eliminated. Then from those remaining are selected the ones to go before what we should call a vocational guidance commission to ascertain their special aptitudes, the profession or trade, if any, which they followed before coming to the institution, so as to know whether to send them to Ghent or to Merxplas.

In these prison schools a new spirit and purpose reign. The old separate cellular system is given up, the purpose is clearly held in mind that these young people gone awry must be regenerated, and that instead of an atmosphere of continual defiance, of more or less automatism and of apathy, there must be an atmosphere of energy, of confidence, and of life. Consequently they refuse to try to handle a large number of delinquents in these prison schools. Their theory is that with a smaller number they can give better individual treatment according to the psychic makeup of the individual, his past history, and of the conditions which brought him into trouble. The regime is one of education not of repression. The education is conceived as vocational, intellectual, physical, and social.

Work is considered as a primordial factor of social readjustment. The authorities believe that labor is indispensable in order to give the young delinquents a trade, so that they may earn an honest livelihood upon discharge. As the authorities look upon it, work has a double purpose,—to give them a trade in the first place that they may be kept from idleness which engenders so much perversity; in the second place in order that they may make some money, part of which will be saved for them to go out with, part to aid their necessitous parents or to indemnify in a certain measure their victims.

The teaching in the trade is practical rather than theoretical. Each trade is taught by a specialist and each of these teachers serves as a companion in the work of the young convict and teaches by example as well as by precept.

The work is carried on in common in parties of from ten to fifteen as in the agricultural colony at Merxplas. Each of these companies goes to the fields, to the farm, gardens, or to the workshop with the instructor. A discipline of silence is strictly enforced. Mr. Delierneux says that a good part of these boys understand that silence is a measure intended for their own good and submit voluntarily.

For the last few years at the prison agricultural school at Merxplas, they have sent the boys out about the farm on their honor. Among those prisoners, one was found who has been condemned to twenty years of forced labor. They work at all the various kinds of work to be found upon a farm. For the first two years of the experiment there was not a single escape. It is believed that this working upon their honor teaches them to control their own actions, and has a decided regenerative effect upon them. This relaxed discipline seems to have made a great impression upon these young delinquents. One sign of this is that they have organized themselves into what they call the circle of "the broken chain," a sort of self-government association. The second article of its constitution is as follows: "The circle has for its purpose (1) to make morally and socially free all the students of the prison school, and more especially the members of the circle; (2) to aid the members of the circle to assist mutually in the work of their moral and social regeneration; (3) to develop in each of the students three points of view,—social, intellectual, and physical; (4) to collaborate with the prison school which has for its purpose our social readaptation (*notre reclassement*); (5)

to provide each of the members a means of spending usefully their leisure time." M. Delierneux says that as a result of this treatment the inmates do not consider the officers purely as their chiefs but also as their friends and as their guides. They have confidence in the officers, solicit their advice, and try heartily to put the advice into practice.

Every officer who comes in contact with these inmates has the duty of carefully studying him from his particular point of view and of making a report to the director. The social history of the young man is secured from the community in which he lived, from the priest and the doctor and from other persons who know about him. These various reports from the different members of the personnel and the social investigation are studied carefully by the director. He notes the differences in these documents and the points on which they agree. At the weekly meeting of the personnel these various observations are discussed and if possible a common agreement as to the nature of the man and as to his difficulties, etc., is arrived at. A plan is then made for each one. These various things are made a matter of record so that each person who deals with the individual may review the record and have a case record of the boy with whom he is dealing. The first stage of this study of the individual lasts from fifteen days to three weeks. During the early days, the newcomer to the prison school is sent into solitary confinement; then he goes to classes and to conferences where he may be observed. Then, unless his attitude is unpromising, he enters the prison school and remains provisionally in what they call the category of observation.

The prison school comprises four categories of inmates: (a) Les Meillerus; (b) Les Bons; (c) Ceux en Observation ou d'Epreuve; (d) Les Pervers ou de Punition. Thus there are four grades in the classification of these men. The

passing from one grade to another takes place upon the basis of points earned in various activities, for example, each month four points are given for good conduct, four points for neatness, four points for manifestation of the spirit of economy, four points for the employment of the time passed in the cell, eight points on the close observance of silence, eight points on the application in school, eight points on application in work and sixteen points on general improvement, a total possible of fifty-six points. A boy earning fourteen points or less goes into the fourth division, cited above as *Les Pervers*, or *de Puniton*. If he earns from fifteen to twenty-eight points he is placed in the third division called above "those under observation," or officially "*d'Epreuve*." If he earns between twenty-nine and forty-two points he is placed in the second division called "*les Bons*" or if he has from forty-three to fifty-six points in his favor, he is placed in the first division, that of "*les Meilleurs*."

These points are decided upon by a commission composed of the chiefs of the workshop, the man in charge of the quarters where they live, the instructors, and the director-adjutant. The advancement from one category to another, however, is not given on one's making the required number of marks in one month; the advancement takes place only after he has obtained that number for three successive months. A man in the third category, "*d'Epreuve*" or "*en Observation*," who for three successive months does not make at least fifteen points, goes back into the fourth category, that of "*de Puniton*." Moreover, in this punishment category are placed those from any other category who are guilty of grave breach of discipline or of serious moral default. Those in this last category are deprived of the use of the canteen; they may not receive letters or visits save in exceptional circumstances; they are

excluded from the musical and choral activities; they are not allowed to participate in recreation nor in organized games on Sunday. Anyone in this punishment category who does not for three successive months improve, is considered unworthy of the prison school and is sent back to an ordinary prison for the rest of his term. Those in the observation category, "d'Epreuve," have the privileges of the canteen with the exception of two articles, tobacco and chocolate. They have the right of correspondence with their parents and may receive visits, however, strictly limited. They may not participate in recreation and organized games in common. As they advance from the lowest category to the highest, additional privileges are given, to stimulate their improvement. Moreover, distinctive signs or symbols are worn on the collar and upon the sleeve, indicating the various categories to which each one belongs. Regular school classes are carried on for these young men. These classes occur every day of the week except Saturday from ten o'clock to midday. There are three classes, one composed of the illiterates and those who have not learned to read well. They are divided into two divisions, the Flemish and the Walloons or Dutch. The second class comprises the Walloon inmates and the instruction is given in French. They are divided into two subdivisions. The third comprises the Flemish and the instruction is given in the Flemish language. This class also has two subdivisions.⁵

In addition there is a good library of from thirteen to fourteen hundred volumes and a special library of two hundred and twenty-five volumes containing books and manuals on the various trades and technologies taught in the prison schools. The distribution of books takes place once a week.

⁵ *Notice sur la prison—Ecole industrielle à Gand, Saint-Gilles* (1927), p. 10.

In addition there are various religious services conducted by representatives of the different cults such as is usual in the American penal and correctional institutions.

Regular physical exercises and military drills are carried on twice a week. Musical exercises both vocal and instrumental are carried on three times a week with selected inmates.

Plays and games are held especially for those in the categories "Bons" and "Meilleurs." A journal is published for the prisoners. Fine medical service is supplied. Particular attention is given to prepare them for what we call in this country after-care (*reclassement*).

Perhaps the most important arrangement in the whole scheme is the individual attention given each man in the course of his treatment. The whole plan is organized in order that the inmate may not feel that he is merely submitting to punishment but that he is learning how to live. Every effort is made gradually to lead him not only to escape discipline but to govern himself. In those of the two higher classes, "Bons" and "Meilleurs," an increasing confidence is placed, and upon them increasing responsibility is gradually imposed. The rights of the men in these categories increase as well as their duties. Greater liberty is given with the hope that they will learn to use it without abuse. The attempt to moral regeneration includes work, which demands as much of the personnel as of the inmates. Conferences are held between them regularly in which the officials endeavor by a face to face talk to show the students the difficulties of life, and give them directions how to evade or how to surmount those difficulties. Visits are made by the personnel to the inmates individually in the cell, in which they try to help the inmates to get a new point of view. The official aims to help the inmate in his moral struggle, to counsel and to guide him. His diffi-

culties are discussed, his points of view gone over and his hopes encouraged. These conferences are looked upon as an opportunity to treat these inmates as men, not as prisoners or even as suspects. An appeal is made constantly to the *amour propre* and to the dignity of the young men. They are followed as they go out in order to help them in what they call re-classing themselves, that is, restoring themselves to society.

Up to the present time, the results of this program have been good. Of those who have been out of the prison school more than six months, ninety per cent are regularly engaged in labor and have conducted themselves honestly and with dignity as shown by the official reports received from those who have supervised them. The present management recognizes that this is a preliminary result and that more and better follow-up work must be devised, such as exists in Holland, in England, and in America with young delinquents. The present administration hopes to see this amateur work develop and a law enacted which will provide the indeterminate sentence.⁶

This system of prison schools comprising the industrial institution at Ghent and the agricultural school at Merxplas, is an experiment quite different in many respects from that to be found in any young men's reformatory in this country. It deserves study and careful watching, it means one step in advance of anything that has been done here. This advance is marked in the first place by the separation of those who are to be trained for trades and those who are trained for agriculture. It is marked also by the special

⁶ I am deeply indebted to Mr. Delierneux, the adjutant-director of the prison school at Merxplas for much of this information. My conversations with him, the papers and the unpublished manuscript which he gave me, much better than the published report, have given me an insight into the spirit of the present administration. His father is the director of the whole institution at Merxplas. Delierneux had a very distressing experience as a prisoner of war under the Germans and his experience during that period led him to take an active stand against the cellular imprisonment.

study which is given to the incoming inmates by every device known to modern science. Again it is marked by individual treatment, such as is rare even in our best reformatories in this country. Finally, it emphasizes once more the importance of having first class, understanding men at the head of such institutions who see that mere mechanical treatment *en masse* cannot perform the task of readjusting these young men, victims of their heredity and their circumstances, to a normal social life. Here is to be seen an experiment, an adventure in the endeavor to reconstruct distorted personalities, an adventure in which is combined all that science has to teach as to personality with all that the art of personal adjustment can contribute to this great task.

Beyond this adventure with youth are the endeavors described above to classify the various prisoners and place them in separate institutions designed to meet their needs. This is of the utmost significance for the United States, where we have been dallying with the matter. In no state have we gone as far with adults as has Belgium. At the present time in our prisons, those afflicted with venereal disease are usually in with the other prisoners. We have isolated the insane criminals in some states. New York has endeavored to segregate some of the feeble-minded delinquents, but where is there a single state in the United States which has attempted to segregate the epileptics and the hystericals in a special institution? Where have we, aside from some of our Southern States, separated and done a good job with the tubercular criminal? To be sure, New York has a special prison for the tubercular but she uses it also for others. Belgium's adventure can well be watched with great care and profound interest.

FRANKLIN HENRY GIDDINGS: 1855-1931*

JAMES P. LICHTENBERGER

University of Pennsylvania

A FEW YEARS AGO we devoted the entire program of our annual dinner to formal expressions of our appreciation of the character and work of the fathers of our sociological faith, Professors Small, Cooley, and Giddings. It was a fine expression of our benignity and erudition that we so honored them while they were still with us to know, to feel, and to enjoy.

Again tonight we pause as we have done before in the shadow of death to revere the memory of those of our leaders who have passed since last we met in annual assembly. Professor Giddings died at his home in Scarsdale, New York, on the eleventh of June last.

What more fitting words could be spoken at this moment than those from his own pen, recorded in his *Pagan Poems*, prophetic of his own demise:

Who climb the blue of Heaven and cross its span—
Must too, at last, sink sadly from our sight,
As does the sun at eve.
And yet if through life's day they've shed the light
Of love and truth and kindness to all men,
And if the atmosphere through which they shone
Grew thereby sweet, and so is calm and fair,
However sad the hearts that know their loss,
However deep the shadows in the vales,
A sunset glory lingers on the hills.

But this is not an obituary occasion, nor is it the time or place to assess the value of his contributions to our sci-

* EDITORIAL NOTE: Address at Twenty-sixth Annual Dinner, American Sociological Society, December 30, 1931, Washington, D.C.

ence. This can be done only through the perspective of history. What I feel called upon to do is simply to appraise those qualities and traits which made him that unique personality whom we delight to honor and which serve as a stimulus to that high endeavor which will aid us in the perpetuation and in the improvement of the enterprise to which he devoted his life, *viz.*, the building of a scientific sociology.

1. First of all he was a founder. His name will go down in the annals of our science with those of Lester F. Ward and Albion W. Small as a pioneer and a promoter of the American brand of sociology, just as those of Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer did in their respective spheres on the other side of the Atlantic. Other names may be added to this triumvirate as time and the consensus of judgment may vindicate their right. But of *his* position in this category there is no successful challenger. This does not imply that all his views will stand the test which accumulated knowledge and improved techniques will make of them; that is not to be expected in a world of changing ideas. Science is accrescent, but like all other superstructures it is reared upon foundations but for which it could not rise at all.

He was both a founder and a builder, and regardless of whatever improvement and reconstruction the present and the future may demand, his original contributions to the edifice will remain a monument to his genius.

2. He was an adventurer. I do not here refer to his personal behavior. The Puritan traditions under which he was reared, however much he might have repudiated them, left their indelible stamp upon him. He was both by temperament and training austere rather than convivial. I refer rather to the audacious and resolute quality of his mind—to that fearless type of adventure which he declared

to be the urge and cause of civilization and which he regarded as the kernel of his theory of history. Into any human field of inquiry which at the time absorbed his interest he plunged boldly, undaunted by the timorous criticisms and evil forebodings of the conservatively minded. He was insatiably inquisitive about the meaning of human life and shared the faith and optimism of Benjamin Kidd in its possibilities. He had no fear of being blasted for his curiosity in this realm. He was totally unafraid and he knew no caution. He took gigantic strides across hitherto alien and unexplored regions and charted new and extensive areas for the intensive investigation and cultivation of his contemporaries and successors. It would be difficult to name anyone who has discovered and set up more specific theoretical or practical research problems or who has rendered this procedure more necessary to the progress of sociology than has Professor Giddings.

3. He possessed a ponderous intellect and an encyclopedic knowledge. I doubt whether for versatility of mind and breadth of intellectual interests he has had his equal since Herbert Spencer. His excursions in the domain of the social sciences would easily match Lester F. Ward's *Glimpses of the Cosmos*. Some day perhaps someone will edit such a series of volumes of his essays. He was a prolific writer. What a fruitful field for a bibliographer. Beside his fourteen books and his editorial writings in *The Independent* and his more or less regular contributions to Van Norden's, *The New York Times Magazine*, and other journals, he has left literally hundreds of scientific articles and public addresses on a wide variety of subjects which are scattered through scores of scientific and popular publications. There are few subjects of contemporary social interest and importance to the better understanding of which he has not made valuable contributions.

4. He had a philosophical mind. Profoundly influenced in his formative years by the ideological approach of Comte and Spencer, whom he never ceased to hold in highest veneration, he was interested always in fundamental concepts and in logical deductions. He had almost an uncanny facility in formulating tentative hypotheses and generalizations which in the light of further investigation more often than otherwise proved to be valid—a seemingly lost art in this day of detached researches often dissociated from any system of coordinated social theory.

His method, however, was rigorously inductive. In his later work the emphasis is shifted from the subjective to the objective approach in social interpretation and he laid the foundation for a genuinely inductive sociology. More recently accurate measurement of social data by approved statistical methods became with him almost an obsession.

He was a scientific determinist in the best sense of that concept and his confidence in a continuous process of scientific causation in every domain of the knowable into which the human mind might penetrate, including of necessity that of human experience and of social relations, probably never has been surpassed.

5. He was a man of unimpeachable intellectual integrity. He scorned pusillanimous men and he hated buffoonery, insincerity, and hypocrisy. He had unfailing confidence in his own mental processes but this did not prevent him from changing his mind in the light of new knowledge or as the result of more adequately interpreted experience. He was always sincere in his faith at the moment irrespective of its changing content. He was never ashamed or afraid to admit that he did not know.

He regarded himself, however, as belonging to the "critical-intellectual" type of mind, to use a phrase of his own coining, and in the main undoubtedly he did, but he pos-

sessed a larger amount of "dogmatic-emotional" element than I think he himself realized. It was obvious, nevertheless, to his friends. He appeared to possess as a part of his dynamic organic equipment a pair of hypersensitive suprarenal glands. There was a strain of belligerency in his nature. He enjoyed intellectual controversy, *and he could fight.* He was uncompromising in the defense of his convictions, whether in matters of theoretical ideas or in those of public policy, to which latter, he devoted a considerable amount of his time and energy. He was no mere armchair philosopher. He was interested intensely in public affairs.

In those experiences of combat which he enjoyed immensely, and in which he not infrequently engaged, he displayed at times deep emotional biases, but they were less the emotion of resentment than of deep and conscientious conviction of right. This impelled him to strenuous effort and he could contend equally as vigorously with friend as with foe, but he harbored no resentment or grudge. He always insisted that it was a mark of intellectual culture to be able to contend earnestly for one's faith and still be friends with one's opponent.

6. He was a great teacher. I count it among the most fortunate experiences of my educational career that I sat under his instruction at the period of his prime. He was immensely stimulating, often shocking to the complacency of the traditionally trained mind. He was a constant inspiration in his ideas, in his industry, and in the effort he expended to stimulate the intellectual processes of his students. He possessed a dominating personality, which, together with certain well known imposing mannerisms of speech and gesture often created the impression among the uninitiated that they were listening to the excathedra utterances of a divine oracle. But the ultimate result of his

teaching as evidenced by the grist of his mill (the present speaker excepted, for I hold him in no way accountable for the meagreness of my own achievements) was to cultivate originality, virility, and intrepidity of thinking so characteristic of his intellectual descendants.

His personal relations with his students was characterized by affability, urbanity, and even intimacy. He took unqualified satisfaction and exulted in the achievements of his numerous students who today fill positions of importance not only in teaching but in other public affairs from one end of the country to the other, and who claim him proudly and with veneration as their intellectual godfather.

His fame, I venture to predict, will grow as the years pass. Not as the final oracle of sociological truth, for many of his views and theories doubtless will be revised in view of scientific advance, as already and continuously they were being revamped in his own mind, but as a major prophet of the coming age in which our science may contribute to clearer thinking about the great adventure of collective human living and to the more effective direction of social evolution in the interest of a better world, for this was the goal toward which he pressed and to which he gave the best that was in him according to the light by which he lived and wrought.

FRANK WILSON BLACKMAR PIONEER SOCIOLOGIST*

ERNEST W. BURGESS

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My association and friendship with Professor Frank W. Blackmar began in 1913 when he invited me to teach in the University of Kansas. From my contacts and conversations with him during and after my two years residence in Lawrence much of the following brief resumé of his life and career is obtained.

The career of Professor Blackmar epitomizes the development of social science and of sociology in the United States. A graduate of a California college and a teacher of mathematics in his alma mater, he went to Johns Hopkins in its creative period under the leadership of President Gilman to study history and political science.

Blackmar found himself in the midst of a stimulating group. Woodrow Wilson was one of his teachers and he made friends, among others, with Albion W. Small, a fellow student who was already enthusiastically interested in the new science of sociology.

In 1889 an invitation came to him from the University of Kansas to take charge of the work in history which was to include all the social sciences. Blackmar proposed that the title of professorship be history and political science. The university administration objected that the term "political science" would be inadvisable in a state undergoing the throes of a populist movement. Even the substitution

* EDITORIAL NOTE: Address at Twenty-sixth Annual Dinner, American Sociological Society, December 30, 1931, Washington, D.C.

of "political economy" for "political science" was regarded as dubious. Finally Dr. Blackmar suggested "history and sociology" which was accepted. Accordingly, the University of Kansas now claims the honor of having the first use of the word "sociology" in the name of a university department.

Under Professor Blackmar's direction the social sciences in the University of Kansas enjoyed a rapid growth, so rapid that history and political science became a separate department in 1899, and Dr. Blackmar was for over a decade professor and head of the department of economics and sociology. In 1912 the work in this field had expanded to such a point that another division occurred and thereafter until his retirement in 1929, after forty years of service, Dr. Blackmar was professor of sociology.

Of the men whom Dr. Blackmar called in to help him in building up the work in sociology in the University of Kansas, V. E. Helleberg, Walter R. Smith, and Seba Eldridge are still actively carrying on the enlarged work of the department, of which Carroll D. Clark is now chairman. His first associate in sociology, Maurice Parmelee, resigned to accept a position with Professor Ellwood in the University of Missouri. Among the others associated with Professor Blackmar, who are not now at the University of Kansas, are Manuel C. Elmer, Stuart A. Queen, and Delbert Mann.

In Kansas and the Southwest, Blackmar was known not only as an economist and a sociologist but as a civic leader. He organized the Kansas State Conference of Charities and Corrections and was its president from 1900 to 1902. He was often called upon by the governor of the state, whether Republican or Democrat, to make investigations in the field of public welfare. During my two years in the state he was requested by the governor to make two studies, one of conditions in the state penitentiary, and the other of

the importation under the Webb Act of intoxicating liquors into Kansas, then under state prohibition. He encouraged the development of the social survey movement in Kansas and initiated and served as director of the Lawrence Social Survey. He was one of the first to advocate the city manager plan of municipal government.

In the University as well as in the community he was a leader. He was dean of the graduate school of the University from 1896 to 1922. In the period that I knew him most intimately he was an influential leader of faculty opinion and was particularly effective in faculty meetings, respected both for his independence and soundness of judgment and for his skillful discussion of proposals.

His greatest contribution to sociology was perhaps through his teaching in his classroom and in his writings. He was a stimulating and inspiring teacher. He believed in appealing to the experience of the students and in applying sociology to their everyday situation. For that reason, he tended to stress the cultural values to be achieved by the study of society.

As a lecturer on social and economic subjects within and without the state he was much in demand. For years he taught what might perhaps be described as Christian sociology to a young peoples' class in one of the local churches, a class that attracted many university students.

With all the duties involved in building up a department, with his administrative responsibilities and with the many outside demands made upon him, Professor Blackmar found time to write. Besides numerous articles, he was the author of fourteen books, the most ambitious of which was the *History of Human Society* published in 1926. He is perhaps best known by his textbook prepared in collaboration with John L. Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*. In the writer's judgment the two works which are most likely to

constitute his permanent contribution to social science are his two early studies, *Spanish Colonization* and *Spanish Institution in the Southwest*.

Professor Blackmar was one of the founders of the American Sociological Society and its ninth president. A detailed statement of his system of sociology has already been published in this journal.* To his many friends he was not first of all a sociologist, but a personality, a man with a rare mingling of dignity and democracy, who loved a fight provided it was for a righteous cause, who had unusual practical insight into human nature, and who, often against great odds upheld to students and to the public, ideals and standards of service and efficiency.

* Melvin J. Vincent, "Sociology of Frank Wilson Blackmar," *Sociology and Social Research*, XV (1931), 503-10.

HOW THE CHINESE LABORER LIVES*

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HOW DOES THE LABORER SPEND HIS MONEY?

WE CAN KNOW something about the standard of living of a family, whether it is high or low, by examining the relative proportions spent for various items. What are the percentages spent for various needs as shown by studies of these laborers' budgets? The higher the proportion spent for necessities, such as food, fuel and light, rent, clothes, the less there is left for miscellaneous items such as education, recreation, health, and comfort. According to Engel's laws of consumption the importance of food in the budget is the best single index of the social position of a laborer. An increase in income is usually associated with a lowered proportion spent for food, and a higher proportion available for miscellaneous wants. From about thirty different standard of living studies of workers made in China, I have figured out average percentages spent for food, rent, clothing, fuel and light, and miscellaneous, and arranged the studies by groups according to the types of workers represented. They fall into five categories as follows: families of ricksha men, miscellaneous villagers, miscellaneous city workers, farm families, and factory operatives. The ricksha families seem to represent the lowest standard of life, for they spend 73 per cent of their total expenditure upon food, 6 per cent on clothing, 8 per cent on rent, 10

* EDITORIAL NOTE: This article is a continuation of one published in the last issue of this Journal by Professor Lamson under the title, "The Chinese Laborer and His Family."

per cent on fuel and light together,—making 97 per cent for these four basic necessary classes, thus leaving only 3 per cent for sundry wants. The miscellaneous villagers come next with an average of 67 per cent for food and 92 per cent for the four major groups of needs, leaving only 8 per cent for sundry expenses. The other three classes of workers have 16 or 17 per cent available for sundry items and average from 56 to 60 per cent for food, thus seemingly representing a considerably higher standard of living than the first two classes, ricksha men and miscellaneous villagers. The class of laborers spending the lowest percentage for food is that of the factory workers, averaging around 56 per cent, with 9 per cent for clothes, 10 per cent for rent, and 8 per cent for fuel and light. For all the studies lumped together in a general average, rural and urban, the proportion of expenditure going for food comes to around 63 per cent, that for the four mentioned necessary items 88 per cent, leaving 12 per cent to be expended in miscellaneous ways. When we compare this result with workers in the United States we find that the latter enjoy a much higher standard of life, for they spend from 30 to 40 per cent for food, and have one-fourth of their outlay for wants other than the four necessities (food, rent, clothing, fuel and light). Thus the Chinese laborer seems to need to spend out of his meager income 25 to 30 per cent more for food than the American worker. This means that the latter has proportionately more for education, health, amusement, and the like.

I have already indicated that the largest single item in the laborer's budget is the food expenditure. In the study of 230 families in Shanghai an average of \$218.52 went for food for the year, or \$18.21 per month. The annual amount per equivalent male adult came to \$57.96, or slightly over five cents per meal throughout the year for a

male adult. The corresponding adult male figure for Lamson's study was \$77.03, or about seven cents per meal. Based on food expenditures, the 230 families in Shanghai consumed foods in the following proportions: cereals 53.2 per cent; legumes and vegetables 18.5 per cent; meat, fish, and eggs 13.2 per cent; fats and oils 7 per cent; condiments 4.2 per cent; fruits 1.9 per cent; unclassified foods 1.9 per cent. The authors of this study of 230 families conclude relative to food of the workers, "On the whole it must be said that the diet of the Chinese worker is a poor one, because its proteids are sufficient in quantity but poor in quality, its fats are insufficient, and its carbohydrates are over-abundant."

Clothing occupies about 9 per cent of the budget, and for the 230 families in Shanghai averages \$36.72 for the year, or \$3.06 per month. The amount for a male adult being \$9.74 for the year in this study, but \$21.45 in another Shanghai study. Space does not permit an analysis of clothing expenditure.

Housing is a very important part of life and the percentage expended on rent averaged from 3 to 16 per cent; the Shanghai factory workers spending about 7 or 8 per cent on this item. In actual amounts, it works out in Shanghai about two dollars per family per month, or twenty-four dollars per year. The number of rooms per family in the 230 families in Shanghai came to only 1.43, excluding the tiny kitchen which was used by several families. Out of the 230 families, 62.6 per cent occupied only one room (exclusive of kitchen), 33.5 per cent occupied two rooms, 3.5 per cent three rooms, and only one family four rooms. It figures to about 3.29 persons per room, or 2.59 equivalent male adults per room. This represents extreme overcrowding, for the rooms are small, often dark, and unsanitary. Workers to save money often sublet an unbelievably small

room or a dark loft to another family. For some families one single small room of perhaps 125 square feet, or 10 or 11 feet on a side, will serve as living room, dining room, kitchen, sleeping room, and toilet room. There is no question but that the housing of workers needs a great deal of reforming, for the evils to health, morals, and disposition in such crowded conditions can scarcely be overestimated. As the income increases the number of rooms per family increases, but so does also the number of persons per family, so that in the 230 families, for example, the higher income groups show just as much crowding per room as the lower income groups. Out of these families, there were 51 living in a house with another family. There were 106 families living in houses with two other families. Forty-one families were living in houses with three other families, and four were living in houses in which altogether there were five families. Such a dwelling offers no rest or quiet or attractiveness after a ten or eleven or more hour day. Some employers in Shanghai, as well as elsewhere, have attempted to provide standard decent quarters for their workers, at low rentals, but the end result has been crowding just the same, for the workers either hire too few rooms for their needs, or if they hire adequate rooms, they promptly sublet them at high rentals to outsiders, preferring, and perhaps really needing, the extra money rather than the extra space.

The percentage for fuel and light lumped together amounts to about 8 per cent, or around \$28 for the year in a couple of the Shanghai studies. In Buck's rural areas, the value of fuel used came to about 12 per cent, or \$25.32 for the year, in 1922-25. The 230 Shanghai families used on the average about 143 catties of wood per month and five catties of kerosene.

The expenses for transportation for city workers comes to from two to four dollars per year, tramcars and wheelbarrows being the most frequently used methods after walking. Workers are accustomed to walk long distances to and from their factories. Those passing our college gate each day may walk from one to three miles each way. A few charter wheelbarrows, ten or a dozen girls riding on one. Most of the laborers who pass our doors are young females, although a few men are included, some of whom receive income sufficient to afford bicycles. But of the thousands of male workers in Shanghai few can afford this luxury, however.

Medical expenses seem to range on the average from eight to ten dollars per family in the Shanghai studies, although the 230 families averaged only \$3.10 for the year. Of course some spend nothing, while others are forced to pay out thirty or forty dollars or even more in severe illness. Laborers are easy prey for the quack doctor and the patent nostrum.

Although tea is considered the universal beverage in China yet there are many laboring families too poor even to purchase tea leaves and so drink simply hot water, since it has been the Chinese custom for ages to use only hot drinks. This is changing now somewhat with the bottled and bulk cold drinks which one sees for sale in the hot weather, and which constitute frequently a new health menace. Out of the 100 families in the village outside of Peiping only two-thirds spent money for tea leaves. Those who did paid on the average \$2.39. Out of the 21 Shanghai families, two-thirds had this item, spending for it \$2.59.

Tobacco is a luxury in which many of the laborers indulge, constituting one of the few pleasures in their rather uninteresting lives. Out of the 100 village families outside of Peiping, 53 spent money for tobacco, averaging for those

having this item about seven dollars for the year, while two-thirds of the 21 Shanghai families spent \$8.33 for the year on the average. Most of the 230 families in Shanghai seem to have spent for tobacco averaging 63 cents per month, or \$7.56 per year. Between seven and eight dollars, then, appears to be the amount expended for this luxury among many laborers per year. Yang and T'ao found that on the average 185 boxes of cigarettes were consumed per family per year, their popularity being revealed by the fact that only nine out of 230 families did not use them. Native tobacco is still consumed but in much smaller quantities than cigarettes.

Out of the 21 Shanghai working families, ten had expense for wine, averaging for those having it \$5.86. The expenses for wine and Chinese liquor among the 230 Shanghai families came to \$3.73 for the year, but whether all families had this item is not clear. In three of the studies in Shanghai by Fang Fu-an, "tea, tobacco, etc., " are lumped together and sometimes include wine, so that it is impossible to separate the items. At any rate this classification together ranges from ten to seventeen dollars for the three studies mentioned. The 230 families consuming wine used annually about seventy catties per family, a catty being one and one-third pounds.

Education does not play as large a part in the expenses of the laborers as it should. In several studies more money is spent for wine and tobacco than upon education. The 61 Tangku working families averaged 33 cents for one year. Of the 21 Shanghai families, seven reported educational expenses averaging ten dollars for the year. The 100 Yangtzepoo families averaged \$2.74; the 85 postmen \$11.88; and the 100 printers \$4.04. About 50 per cent of the families of the postmen, 19 per cent of the printers, and 100 per cent of the Yangtzepoo 100 families had educational

expense. The latter is explained by the fact that the study was made through the Yangtsepoo Social Center Night School, therefore each family had some member in school. Of the 230 Shanghai families, only 108 paid such expenses. The 230 families together averaged 77 cents for the year.

Yang and T'ao found in their 230 families that, excluding children under six years of age, 57.7 per cent of the males, and 98 per cent of the females had never attended any school. Of young persons of school age, six to eighteen, only 15.3 per cent of the boys, and 2.1 per cent of the girls are attending school. These are the illiterate adults of tomorrow, and this partly explains why it is estimated that 80 per cent of the males and 95 per cent or more of the females of China cannot read or write. An unweighted average of nine studies gives the average of about \$2.25 for educational expenses a year.

Some expense for religious worship or ceremony is very common among workers represented in the various studies. In many of them two-thirds of the families record this item, which includes services of priests, spirit money, incense, candles, and the like. In north China two village studies show from one to two dollars spent per year per family.

In the 100 Yangtsepoo families the amount for the year was a little more than five dollars; for 32 printers' families \$2.80; for two-thirds of the postmen's families \$8.34. Of the 230 Shanghai families 197 reported this item averaging \$2.76 for the year. Two-thirds of Lamson's 21 Shanghai families spent on the average slightly more than four dollars per family.

When it comes to the laborers' recreation, it is somewhat difficult to discover actual amounts from the studies because of different classifications. "Festivals" have an element of recreation, while rather large amounts are found

for "social expenses" or for "entertaining friends." Gossipping, sitting in tea houses, rolling coppers, gambling, are common forms of recreation, as well as feasting and visiting at festival times, especially Chinese New Year. For social expenses the 61 Tangku families averaged \$8.53 for the year. The 100 Yangtzepoo families averaged twenty dollars for this purpose, three-fourths of them having the item recorded. The 85 postmen averaged more than twenty-five dollars for the year, four-fifths having it. The 100 printers averaged nearly twenty-two dollars, 90 per cent having recorded social expenses in which there is a large element of recreation. Out of the 230 Shanghai families 206 spent an average of about ten dollars. It will be noted that these expenses are larger than for education, and reflect the strong customs of entertaining friends and giving presents. Social expenses seem to include recreational, religious, and social elements.

When marriages or funerals occur they often consume large amounts. Yang and T'ao report that among their laborers weddings take from \$7.59 to \$250; funerals from \$1.33 to nearly \$150; birth of a child from 62 cents to \$30. A considerable part of the wedding and funeral expenses are for the cost of food for entertaining friends and relatives who descend *en masse* upon the victim for a day or more during which time they have to be furnished with free food, and of better-than-usual quality too.

Out of the 230 Shanghai families 83 were paying interest on borrowed money amounting to about fifteen dollars for the year for those families in such debt. In this particular study nine families were paying for loans at the exorbitant rate of 10 per cent per month, or 120 per cent per year, and one family paid a rate of 14 per cent per month, or 168 per cent per year. Five per cent per month, or 60 per cent per

year, was the most common rate, outside of some whose relatives loaned them sums without interest.

Out of the 230 families only 23 made remittances to relatives in other places, averaging for those sending, \$15.78 per family, or spread over the whole 230 families, \$2.15 per year.

In general it may be said that the Chinese laborer tries to live within his income. His mental standards of what constitutes a good and happy life are not very high, so they are rather easily satisfied. In fact one of the problems involved in improving workers' conditions is to give them a healthy dissatisfaction with their lot as it now is so that they will demand more of society and ultimately will get more. But even though workers are fairly easily satisfied, yet in numerous studies, the lower income groups show an annual deficit, while the higher income groups may show a small surplus. For example, in the 230 Shanghai cotton workers' families the two lower income groups with families receiving less than a dollar per day, or less than \$365 per year, there was a deficit. The deficit in the twenty to thirty dollar a month income group was \$1.39 per month, the deficit in the lowest income group, receiving less than twenty dollars per month, was \$4.24. The three upper income groups had surpluses per month of \$1.45, \$2.49, and \$7.07 respectively. However, the total average of all families came to a deficit of eleven cents per month. Out of 230 families 118 had deficits, which is 51.3 per cent. Out of Fang's 85 Shanghai postal workers 33 showed a deficit. The 100 printers showed one-half the families with a deficit averaging \$48.57 for the year, and 38 families having surplus averaging \$11.57. When there is a deficit, the family has to resort to borrowing, joining a loan society, pawning articles, securing aid from relatives or from charity.

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AN APPROACH TO SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

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IN RECENT YEARS more and more attention has been given to research in all the social sciences. Auguste Comte (1798-1857) held the position that in general the scientific method, meaning reliance on observation rather than on imagination, "is composed of three different procedures: (1) observation properly so-called, i.e., the direct examination of the phenomenon such as it is presented in nature, (2) the experiment, i.e., the contemplation of the phenomena more or less modified by artificial circumstances, instituted by us expressly in view of a more perfect exploration, (3) comparison, i.e., the gradual consideration of a series of analogous cases in which the phenomenon is simplified more and more."¹ Herbert Spencer and Lester F. Ward were great believers in the inductive method, and used the Comtean approach to the study of society; but they did not make the transition, as did Giddings and Ross at a later date, from the philosophical and informal statistical approach, to the statistical procedures and quantitative measurements of present-day sociologists.

During the past quarter century, quantitative methods have gained in favor, and analysis has taken the place of synthesis. The reason for this change is clear. The older disciplines had looked with suspicion upon the claims and the generalizations of the new science: historians and economists were apt to allude to sociology as theological in

¹ "The Method of Auguste Comte" by M. De Grange, in *Methods in Social Science*, ed. S. A. Rice, p. 29.

thought and trend, and to sociologists as "ex-ministers who are still preachers."² It is not surprising then that the younger men in the field were drawn more and more to the quantitative procedure as a justifiable means of testing the validity of the earlier generalizations.

Conflicting attitudes toward methodological study soon appeared, but the goal remained the same,—to blaze new trails toward the acquisition of knowledge. Let us mention a few of these approaches to sociological research.

"Any real science of society will obviously study what it professes to study, namely, a society. In so doing it must watch what really happens, that is, consequences as distinguished from purposes or motives."³ This statement from *The Science of Society* suggests the interesting comment which Cooley made concerning the methods of the author of *Folkways*. Cooley wrote: "As regards his (Sumner's) technical procedure, there was, as far as I can see, nothing original or distinctive. Like Montesquieu or Darwin or a hundred others before him, he simply collected a great mass of relevant material and made what he could of it. . . . What distinguishes him and makes the manner of his work a possible source of help to others is something inseparable from his personality,—his ardor, his penetration, his faith in social science, his almost incredible power of work, his great caution in maturing and testing his ideas before publication," in a word, hard work combined with the saving grace of good common sense.⁴

² L. L. Bernard, in *The American Journal of Sociology*, Sept., 1931, p. 209.

³ Sumner and Keller, *The Science of Society*, Vol. III, p. 2175.

⁴ If we compare Sumner's work with such historical treatises as Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, and Hobhouse *Morals in Evolution*, we find this difference,—these historians were striving to explain how our present moral ideas and standards came into being, whereas Sumner by pains-taking analysis was endeavoring to describe and to classify different types of contemporary cultures so that their origin and development could be systematically traced and explained.

The Polish Peasant, by Thomas and Znaniecki, as a research project, is probably the only other work of an American sociologist that is comparable to Sumner's *Folkways*.⁵ The authors of the two studies have practically the same goal in mind, i.e., to describe and analyze the series of changes that are taking place in the cultural life of typical social groups,—but they have approached their problem from different angles and have used different research methods. While Sumner gives us a "conceptual description of the mores," Thomas and Znaniecki are interested primarily in discovering and analyzing social attitudes and social values; in the changes in the mores and folkways, and in the social forces and processes which are behind and responsible for these changes.

Sumner says, "Custom in the group is habit in the individual." Moreover, habits in the individual tend to perpetuate group custom; and again, changes in habits inevitably substitute new customs for old ones. *Folkways*, on the one hand, describes the general forms of culture under such classifications as fashion, manners, ceremonials and rituals; *The Polish Peasant*, on the other, studies one social group—the life of the peasant first in Poland and then in America,—from the point of view of cultural change.⁶

Vilfredo Pareto, the Italian social scientist, author of *Trattato di Sociologia Generale*, has won enduring fame

⁵ "The Sociological Methods of Sumner and Thomas" by R. E. Park, in *Methods in Social Science*, ed. S. A. Rice, pp. 162-65.

⁶ A series of cultural changes in the life of any human group may be brought about by changes in the daily experiences of individuals, in a word, changes in their attitudes and habits. Thus "custom in the group and habit in the individual," as used by Sumner, corresponds generally to "objective cultural elements" and "subjective characteristics of the members of the group,"—concepts to which Thomas and Znaniecki give the names "social values" and "attitudes" respectively. Social attitudes are, in reality, the individual and subjective aspects of the mores. "Sumner," says Professor Park, "is concerned with the objective, Thomas and Znaniecki with the subjective aspects of culture. As the fundamental concept of *Folkways* is the mores, so *The Polish Peasant* is mainly concerned with attitudes. *Folkways* is sociology. *The Polish Peasant* is social psychology."

as one of the greatest methodologists in the field of sociological research. In this treatise, which shows unusual originality of thought, the writer has gathered an immense amount of material from historical documents of all sorts and descriptions, from the natural sciences as well as the humanities, has handled his facts most skillfully, and finally, has succeeded in working out scientific principles which have exerted far-reaching influence in the field of sociological research.

Pareto's disciples have already pointed out the practical influence of his work; but we must remember that a scientific treatise such as this can rarely be expected to produce immediate social changes. Society, says Pareto, has been studied too dogmatically. Comte, Spencer, and Ward observed facts, to be sure, and discovered certain causal relationships among social phenomena, but their primary purpose was to advance some particular belief, to sponsor definite principles. This tendency on the part of social scientists, to use "sociology as a pulpit from which to preach their theories, has retarded the progress of sociology as a science."

"Let us not be deceived by the name *positive* given by Comte to his philosophy; his sociology is as dogmatic as Bossuet's *Discourse on Universal History*. The religions of the two men are different, but they are religions; and it is religion that we find in the works of Spencer, of De Greef, of Letourneau, and of innumerable other authors." These men were not scientific in the real meaning of the term, neither did they produce scientific works.⁷

To Pareto, humanitarian or Christian sociology is as incongruous as humanitarian or Christian physics. He says, "Of humanitarian sociologies we have a great number,

⁷ A. Bongiorno, "A Study of Pareto's Treatise," in the *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1930, p. 351.

such being the only kind that are at present being published, of metaphysical sociologies we suffer no dearth, and with them are to be ranged all the positivist sociologies and all the humanitarian; of Christian, of Catholic, and the like we have a small number; may we be allowed, without desire to slight all these sociologies, to expound one that will be exclusively empirical, like chemistry or physics and other like sciences."⁸ He started out, then, to follow the methods of logico-experimental science, with no desire to claim absolute truth for any of his conclusions. He planned to remain always in the field of observation and experience and to formulate his theories in strict conformity with observable facts. Toward this end he proposes to use only words that correspond to objects and always in as precise sense as possible.

Pareto looks upon the scientific method, which he describes in great detail, not as the only method, or as being superior to any other, but as one of many possible methods that may aid in the quest for truth. In fact he reveals singular mental balance when he warns against a too great faith in the scientific method and in the results that may follow from the use of the scientific method in any field. Even in the realm of the natural sciences absolute truth does not exist, for there also the most valid conclusions are true only in a relative sense. After a full and complete description of his methods, Pareto then proceeds to study human behavior patterns which he divides into logical and non-logical actions; and in the course of a remarkable analysis he succeeds in fashioning for use new tools of scientific research. His development of the concepts, residues and derivations, will stand as a notable achievement in the history of methodological studies.

Professor Sorokin, one of the most stimulating of living

⁸ Pareto, *Trattato di Sociologia Generale*, p. 7.

sociologists, acknowledges his debt to Pareto and tells us that there is no need to stress the great importance of the factual and inductive studies. To them primarily belongs the credit of a real promotion of sociology as a science. They represent the only basis for deciding whether a certain philosophical generalization is valid or not. Through such studies we are given relatively accurate sociological phenomena and causal formulas, and in such studies mainly lies the hope of a further perfecting of sociology as a science.

Three recent research projects stand out as representative of the new objective method in the social sciences: Lynd's *Middletown*, Redfield's *Tepoztlán*, and Shaw's *The Jack Roller*. The first two are studies in contemporary culture, while the last is not only a valuable case document, but it "contributes to method in showing a manner of correlating objective data,—school records, intelligence measurements, institutional records, etc.,—with the person's conception of his role in society." To a considerable extent all three of the above mentioned studies have used a research technique which E. C. Lindeman in *Social Discovery*⁹ has well described as the participant observer method. The study of behavior, for example, involves what the person is doing plus what he thinks he is doing. Now the answer to the question: What is the group doing? must come from the inside as well as from the outside. The term 'participant observer' implies not that the observers are taking part in the study, but that they are participating in the activities of the group under observation. The difficulty lies in the fact that there are few persons involved in the activities of a group who also understand the methods of the trained observer.

⁹ Lindeman, *Social Discovery*, pp. 177-200.

A refinement of this technique is indicated by Professor Case in a recent statement.¹⁰ While directing some student researches in the sociology of religion, he became impressed with the necessity of the method known as the participant observer. "Experience in this field, however, suggests the need of something even more intimate which might be called the method of the 'observing participant.' In a word, no one really knows what the attitudes and values of a religious fellowship or communion actually are until he senses their meaning, and he can get the full tang and pungency of that only by participation, either with the aid of the sympathetic imagination of Cooley which serves as an incentive in the case of the participant observer, or by dependence upon the scientific detachment and criticism of a cooperating research group, which provides the necessary corrective, in the case of the observing but naturally biased participant."

C. R. Shaw must have had the same problem in mind when he resorted to the use of the life history technique as an aid to a better understanding of individual or group behavior. The material which he has gathered includes all sorts of records or documents, such as the vocabulary of the individual and the case histories of social agencies. As every psychologist knows, it is the involved nature of the subjective life, the interplay of the emotions and the imagination which takes place between stimulus on the one hand and response on the other, that differentiates so sharply the behavior of human beings from that of the lower animals. It is this same obscure mental activity which makes human conduct, particularly in the case of the unadjusted and the emotionally unstable, so variable and puzzling. Shaw's careful observations, inferences, and

¹⁰ C. M. Case, "Toward Gestalt Sociology," in *Sociology and Social Research*, Sept.-Oct., 1930, p. 25.

verifications, which he has made for the sole purpose of getting a clear picture of this inner life, have only served to reemphasize the complicated nature of human behavior, as well as to point out the futility of over-simplification in our attempts to interpret or explain.

It is clear then that much must still be added to the observation of objective conduct before we are in a position to understand the whole situation; since objective factors are significant only in relation to the meanings placed upon them by individuals or groups. A very important problem therefore which faces every investigator in this field is—what is the best way to discover the subjective attitudes and meanings behind the more tangible evidences.

In truth, the social sciences are confronted with certain difficulties from which the natural sciences are relatively free. The social sciences are concerned with phenomena which are changed, fashioned, even created by that "elusive and complex, but undeniable reality, the mentality of man." Professor MacIver, in a vigorous protest against the code which mechanizes research, declares that "there was a time when the social sciences generalized overboldly without adequate control over their materials. There were economists who found one simple law to explain everything; and there were sociologists who discovered a new law on every page. In revolt from their sometimes foolhardy fathers, they (the mechanistic social scientists) vainly seek for foolproof methods of getting at new truth. But no great, perhaps no small, discovery even, is made without the aid of the imagination, disciplined and rendered critical by appropriate training. . . . The great need of sociology is not ready-made methods, nor ready-made models, but the trained and disciplined imagination. . . . Our aim is to understand and to convey to others the understanding of the intricate and often baffling web of social relation-

ships which being created by man must be understood by a similar creative capacity in ourselves."¹¹

As we review the most recent research studies, we are impressed by the fact that increasing attention is being given to sociological measurement, and relatively less to quantitative investigations. Each complicated research problem to a large degree must have its own methodology. So in recent years, some sociologists have turned their attention to the development of techniques and devices which will simplify and facilitate the task of collecting social data, and defining and measuring social phenomena, while others have sought through the quantitative method to extend the boundaries of factual knowledge.

In any case, some sociological factors are measurable and the quantitative relationships ascertainable; other factors may only be observed and interpreted with the help of that sympathetic insight, or that trained and disciplined imagination which Cooley, MacIver, and Case emphasize so strongly. For after all, the most carefully derived conclusions from quantitative data are seldom self-explanatory. They derive their true meaning largely from the intensive study of social changes and the description of contemporary cultures. Nevertheless, with certain limitations, the quantitative method in sociological research, as Pareto has so ably demonstrated, is probably the most valuable of all the methods whenever and wherever it can be used. The emphasis which we are placing on quantitative studies today is rightly placed. The larger the number of special fields intensively developed, the better for the future of sociology as a true science. The pendulum will swing in the opposite direction toward general sociology just as soon as we begin to feel the need of a better integration and a formal synthesis.

¹¹ R. M. MacIver, in *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, May, 1931, pp. 33, 35.

NEGRO OPINION REGARDING AMOS AND ANDY

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IN THE SPRING of 1931 a limited survey was conducted among the educated colored people of Los Angeles for the purpose of securing an estimate of their reaction to the entertainment presented by Amos and Andy over radio.

Fifteen interviews were held with educated Negroes. Ten of those interviewed were students in junior college and five were adult leaders of the colored community. They were consulted concerning their reactions to Amos and Andy specifically and to blackface comedians in general.

Three types of opinion were manifest. At the extreme right were those who heartily endorsed Amos and Andy as beneficial to the colored race. In the center were those who expressed a mild tolerance for Amos and Andy and a lukewarm enjoyment of their entertainment. Finally, on the left wing there existed a marked resentment and emphatic disapproval of Amos and Andy and all other imitations of Negroes by white people.

Of the fifteen persons in the survey only three might be classed as belonging to the right wing. In general their favorable opinion was based upon the importance of advertising the Negro wit through the medium of the blackface comedian, and thereby gaining tacit recognition for the talents of the colored race.

Case A was an amateur tap dancer and a student in junior college. His reaction to Amos and Andy was governed in large measure by the economic factor.

All white teams that stress Negro dialect show only one side of the Negro, but it is the only type that will sell. The general public is not interested in the sophisticated or middle class Negro.

A had never felt that Amos and Andy were a caricature of the Negro. He had always regarded them as primarily individuals. Moreover, he had never heard them utter a word, that he could term as offensive to the dignity of the race. On the contrary, it was his opinion that Amos and Andy had given the public a quite favorable impression of the Negro, for

The fact that Amos and Andy operate the Fresh Air Taxi and a restaurant shows the majority of the people that the Negro is something better than a cotton picker. It shows that the Negro has business sense and ability.

Case B's reaction to Amos and Andy was influenced by his interests as a student of the drama. He had enjoyed Al Jolson's "mammy songs," the Black Crows, Amos and Andy, and all blackface comedians, provided it was done with art and grace. What annoyed him most of all was to hear blackface comedians with a poor version of Negro dialect. He simply cannot bear to listen to someone "render to tatters an otherwise decent dialect." With special reference to Amos and Andy, he remarked:

I don't consider them Negro dialect at all. It is a combination of West Indian, some Negro, mixed up with some of their own coined phrases and words. Negro dialect is to my mind one of the most difficult of all dialects of the English language.

Outside of their diction, B found little to criticize in the entertainment of Amos and Andy. In fact he discovered a "great deal of philosophy, psychology, logic, both good and bad" in Amos and Andy. He did not regard them in

any sense a burlesque on the colored people. He, himself, listened to them, whenever possible.

Case C enthusiastically approved of the dialogue of Amos and Andy. C is an outstanding motion picture actor of his race, as well as an actor on the legitimate stage.

He is an Africanophil. He is convinced that the Negro possesses a peculiar native genius, which he has carried to the New World from the African homeland. C feels that the American public cannot resist the charm of the unique humor of the indigenous "Afric" culture, and hence applauds the black man's humor, whenever it is well presented. The recognition of the artistic expression of the Negro of the future rests upon the present cultivation of the American public's appreciation of "Afric" culture.

C stated that the blackface comedian, in attempting to copy the native talent of the Negro, has popularized Negro wit, and has thereby served to whet the appetite of the public for more from the real Negro, himself. The Negro must first serve his apprenticeship as comedy relief, before he can expect the public to receive the deeper artistic expressions of the Negro soul.

Hence C was wholeheartedly in sympathy with Amos and Andy. He declared:

They have added something to the type of McIntyre and Heath. In a very subtle manner they have introduced characters who are entirely human. Amos and Andy are educating white people and making them interested in the every day life of the colored man.

They are two fine characterizations. Amos is ingenious and Andy is the blustering type of person. There is nothing dumb about anything they do. They are in fact bringing out a latent philosophy about the colored people. It could, of course, be done so much better by two greater colored actors, but they would never have had the opportunity, had not the white man paved the way.

C could not recall a single instance in line or gesture, wherein Amos and Andy had made light of the colored people. He viewed Amos and Andy as two characters, who have caused white people to imagine two similar lovable colored people, whom they have known in their lives. C felt that nothing but better race relations could arise from the radio entertainment of Amos and Andy. Furthermore, C was certain that the majority of his own race were ardent Amos and Andy fans, and that they were continually being amused and delighted by certain unique "Afric" expressions, brought forth by the two comedians.

Whereas it has been observed that three of the fifteen individuals were unmistakably in favor of Amos and Andy, there was an additional group of three, which assumed a rather neutral position. They professed to be somewhat amused, but on the whole, adopted a rather indifferent attitude, modified by a mild criticism in instances.

D is a former high school athlete, studying to become a coach. He had enjoyed hearing not only Amos and Andy, but also the Black Crows. Although he found nothing objectionable to either of them from the standpoint of race ridicule, he did have certain doubts. He felt that there was some danger that the general public might gather the impression from these blackface entertainers that "all colored people, the educated included, are clowns." But if the public would regard them as nothing more than an evening's amusement, he could see no harm in them.

E, an engineering student, enjoyed Amos and Andy from the very start. His interest in them was shared by both his father and grandmother, alike. He felt that some of the situations presented were somewhat far-fetched or artificial, but refused to take the dialogues much more seriously than as an entertaining skit. In his judgment there was nothing in the dialogue to affect the race as a whole.

Case F is a junior college student, preparing to become a Y.W.C.A. secretary. She had never heard any adverse criticism of Amos and Andy from any of her friends. Instead, they were eager listeners-in, and enjoyed repeating jokes and expressions, originating from the dialogues.

F felt that only an ignorant person could possibly find anything objectionable in Amos and Andy, or even the Black Crows. She was, herself, very fond of Al Jolson's impersonations and "mammy" songs. The only representation of the Negro on stage or screen which aroused her disapproval was the exploitation of the role of the superstitious Negro. Such a role she felt unduly stressed the weaknesses of the least educated elements of the race.

The remaining nine educated colored people out of the total fifteen minced no words in condemning not only Amos and Andy, but all white imitations of the Negro on the stage and screen as both degrading and insulting to the pride and prestige of the colored race.

The mildest condemnation against Amos and Andy came from G, who is a Y.M.C.A. secretary, as well as a publicity man for Negroes in the motion picture industry.

He realized fully the implications of the economic aspect of the Negro as an entertainer. It was his belief, moreover, that there is a tendency among certain cultured Negroes to overcome their aversion for plantation songs, folk lore, spirituals, and all reminders of their slave past. They have come to understand that the public wants the stereotyped Negro minstrel and his ilk, and so they have had to subdue their pride, and furnish the public, that which it demands. Thus, the best talent of the Negro race has had to don the garb of the stereotyped plantation Negro or minstrel as the sole means of gaining an outlet.

Thus the blackface comedians, such as Amos and Andy, "present the stereotype of the Negro, which the public

wants. It is the accepted Negro, which the public always imagines, but never finds."

G summed up the reaction of the educated Negro to Amos and Andy as follows:

In the main, more and more the cultured Negro has come to accept Amos and Andy as a reminder of what America considers "the Negro type." He knows that the type of Negro which Amos and Andy caricature does not exist; because theirs is an exaggeration of a type of Negro whose humor, life, and contact in his native habitat is far richer than that which Amos and Andy portray.

Negroes decry the fact that such insipid portrayal of a type is accepted by so large a public, by individuals receiving so vast a sum of money, when the Negro could do it more effectually, more naturally, and more richly.

The fear that the public will confuse the manners and ideas of the Amos and Andy type of everyday Negro with the refined members of the race was expressed by H, a junior college student, preparing for a business career. He, also, commented upon their inferiority to some capable Negro actors. In brief, he stated:

The characters which they portray may be considered a reflection or discredit upon Negroes, because they tend to acquaint the majority of white people with the habits and manners of the lowest type of Negro. Negroes are anxious to improve their conditions, especially intellectually; thus, any reflection upon them tends to breed bad feeling.

I, who was a debater when she was in high school, failed to find Amos and Andy even interesting to her. She objected to them strenuously, however, as misrepresenting the uneducated Negro of today and placing him before the white public in an inferior light. She continued:

In fact, Amos and Andy are just like other plantation jokes to me. They are a continuation of the old minstrel idea. Their representation of the Negro is as much out of date as powdered wigs, tight corsets, bustles, and queer dresses would be in representing white people.

J saw the situation from the viewpoint of a young woman, preparing for social work. She appreciated the merits of Amos and Andy as an evening's pastime, having enjoyed listening to several of their dialogues, herself. However, she found much to criticize concerning their work.

First of all she regarded their dialect as not typical of either the Negro bourgeoisie or the working class. She found the dialect too broad, and denied that such mispronounced words as "regusted" or "incorpulated" would ever appear in the vocabulary of a lower class Negro.

J felt that even though Amos and Andy had attempted in no way to intentionally offend the Negro race, nevertheless to the more sensitive members of the educated class it would appear that the race was being indirectly ridiculed. Amos and Andy appeared to her to be nothing more than another of the long line of minstrels and blackface comedians, who have stressed the absurdities of the lower class with its plantation background. Negroes, she maintained, do not like to be impersonated. And further, "the educated people just do not like to be reminded of the past."

The danger of establishing a false conception about the Negro was reiterated by L, who is prominent in the social life of the young people in junior college. She admitted being, herself, somewhat amused by the antics of Amos and Andy, but did not approve of the ignorant characters, which they portray. L stated:

In my estimation they tend to mold an unfavorable opinion toward our group. If these comedians portrayed roles that were characteristic of the colored race all would be well and good, but the parts played by them are in no way typical of the Negro race.

Members of other races listening to Amos and Andy are infused with a superiority complex, which tends to make them look on Negroes in general as uneducated inferiors. If there were fewer come-

dians ridiculing and attempting to lower the literary standards of the group and more trying to establish knowledge as to the aesthetic and cultural accomplishments, there would be a better feeling of fraternal equality between groups.

Few members of the opposite group get an insight into the social life of the more educated members of the race, and their knowledge of us as a group is largely molded by the silly antics and impersonations of blackface comedians such as Amos and Andy.

L raised the question of the effect of Amos and Andy upon children. How would it be possible to evolve a better understanding of the Negro in the minds of white children, if their minds were being molded to believe that Amos and Andy personified the mentality of the average Negro?

M is the local secretary of the most important economic organization of the Negro people. While refusing to speak with authority for the entire group, he felt justified in saying that the intelligent Negro enjoyed Amos and Andy as fully as the average intelligent white. The educated Negro appreciated the act as clean, clever, and in places bore-some. However, there were more serious considerations, for:

What the Negro objects to in the program is that he realizes the power of suggestion, even so crude as the burlesque, upon the un-thinking group of the American public. And he realizes, moreover, that the great majority of our public belongs to the unthinking group. The Negro has been caricatured in the press, in novels, and on the stage to such an extent that a public stereotype has been created, which conceives of the Afro-American as a person who dresses in ridiculous fashion with clothes handed down from the white donor, who talks in the jargon of English which is a cross between a Sea Islander of South Carolina and a delta laborer of Louisiana, and who is ignorant, superstitious, and who is always the clown.

Such performances as that of Amos and Andy help to strengthen and perpetuate this stereotype. In so far as it does this, it is a vicious influence, harmful to the millions of Negroes, who are intelligent citizens and commonplace to the American scene in every respect,

except that of color. To this extent intelligent Negroes deplore the ultimate effects of the act, even though they may chuckle at its really clever humor from time to time.

Case N was a woman, who is editor of one of the most influential race journals on the Pacific coast. From the very beginning she had found Amos and Andy distasteful to her. They had seemed just so much burlesque tending toward ridicule. She criticized them for the light treatment of the rather serious moral situation, arising out of the Madam Queen breach of promise suit episode. Such a situation, N felt, could involve only the lower stratum of the race.

N realized that basically the uncultured white man would view the Negro only in the light of an ex-chattel slave, not yet removed from two hundred and fifty years of debasing servitude. Hence, she feared the danger of Amos and Andy verifying just such a prejudice.

O's views were those of a Socialist and economic radical. He imputed the popularity of Amos and Andy to the fact that "it satisfies the desire of the white lowbrow for a certain feeling of superiority." He continued:

Just as the slapstick burlesque comedy, which has the Irishman or the Jew as its butt, the listeners-in are able to receive a subjective feeling of satisfaction that "we are superior to somebody."

It has its sociological aspect, too. Several black people get the same vicarious thrill, because they are not that type of darky. If the Negroes were strong enough culturally they might as well utilize the white man as the butt of the joke, and thereby satisfy their desire for superiority.

The type that enjoys Amos and Andy is the type which is docilely led by the white man religiously, patriotically, in fact, ordinarily. He corresponds to the white man who takes his ideas hand-made from the propaganda factory.

But the new group of blacks who are beginning to think independently about their situation and their problems have little liking or patience with the black buffoons or the black Uncle Tom.

P is preparing herself for teaching, although her interests incline her toward dramatics. Psychologically she appreciated the value of Amos and Andy for popularizing a brand of tooth-paste. However, from a racial standpoint she found Amos and Andy a very poor imitation of the modern Negro. She stated:

By modern I mean the Negro of the twentieth century and especially this last decade. The race is progressive and striving toward high, worth-while goals, and this is the very contrast to Amos and Andy; they are retrogressive.

P charged Amos and Andy as failing accurately to portray the true psychology of the American Negro. Whereas she characterized the Negro as optimistic, yet serious, humorous, and reverential, they are perpetually arguing and worrying.

Amos talks much like the Negro of the past, but not of today, because the type he is illustrating is fast dying out. Andy is a poor model. He talks like a white man in comparison to his purpose to talk as the "past" Negro, because I must repeat, they are trying to demonstrate the Negro as a whole, and their representation gives the ill-informed white man the wrong conception, indeed, of the Negro of this present twentieth century.

Although such a brief survey involving such a small number of cases can in no sense be considered as conclusive, nevertheless it possesses certain valuable implications. Out of fifteen individual cultured Negroes chosen at random as far as their opinions were concerned, fully nine expressed themselves opposed to the dialogues of Amos and Andy. Furthermore, eight of the nine were as firmly against them, as C, the only enthusiastic proponent of Amos and Andy, was for them. Six of the fifteen, A, B, D, E, F, and G displayed varying degrees of benevolent neutrality.

VARIETIES OF GERMAN CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGY

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THE OUTSTANDING German sociologists of the older generation whose contributions Dean Small introduced in America are: (1) Schæffle and (2) Lilienfeld who, like Spencer and Comte, conceived society as a biological organism; (3) Gumplovicz, an Austrian, who wrote extensively in the field of race conflicts, and (4) Ratzenhofer, upon whose theories of social processes and human motives Small based his famous "fundamental interests." These and others of the older generation concerned themselves chiefly with the question: "What is society?" The objection that they had neither an exclusive field of inquiry nor precise methods of investigation has persisted until the present time.

In order to meet this objection contemporary German sociologists have concerned themselves chiefly with developing a methodology which they hope will place sociology upon a secure scientific basis. The majority of these sociologists, previous to the World War, were still active historians, economists, political scientists, philosophers, logicians, moralists; since then, in part stimulated by Georg Simmel's writings, and in part seeking to meet the post-war demands for study of the problems of group-life, they have embarked upon sociological investigation and analysis in their respective fields of inquiry. The result of this situation is a wide variety of points of view and orienta-

tions—a diversity of studies without common agreement and a complexity of assumptions and conclusions.

Paul Barth¹ introduced philosophy of history as sociology. Curt Breysig stresses the importance of the theory of history to sociology. E. Husserl² points out the significance of philosophy as a strict scientific discipline. Othmar Spann³ developed an *universalist Sociology*; Franz Oppenheimer⁴ created a *politico-economic* system of sociology. Karl Dunkman⁵ calls his group studies, which rather closely resemble our conception of social research, *applied sociology*. Geck⁶ studied social psychology and Theodor Geiger⁷ collective psychology as a branch of sociology. Toennies⁸ differentiates between *pure*, *applied*, and *empirical* sociology. Simmel⁹ expounds *formal* sociology; Vierkandt¹⁰ is associated with *phenomenological* sociology; von Wiese¹¹ with *behavioristic*; and Max Weber¹² with *verstehende Soziologie*.

Some common trends run through this complex variety, and in general it may be said that German sociology centers around the following problems:

1. What is the subject matter of sociology? Is sociology a study of social relationships, of social processes, or of behavior-patterns and sequences arising out of human interaction?

¹ *Die Philosophie der Geschichte als Soziologie*.

² "Philosophie als Strenge Wissenschaft," *Logos*, Vol. I; also *Logische Untersuchungen*, 2 Vols. *Ideen zu einer reinen Phaenomenologie und phaenomenologischen Philosophie*.

³ *Gesellschaftslehre*.

⁴ "Soziologie des Staates," *Jahrbuch fuer Soziologie*, I.

⁵ *Zeitschrift fuer Angewandte Soziologie*.

⁶ See *Sociology and Social Research*, July-August and November-December, 1930.

⁷ *Die Masse und Ihre Akten*.

⁸ *Soziologische Studien und Kritiken* (Erste Sammlung).

⁹ *Soziologie: Untersuchungen Ueber die Formen der Vergesellschaftung*.

¹⁰ *Gesellschaftslehre*, and *Naturvoelker und Kulturvoelker*.

¹¹ *Allgemeine Soziologie*.

¹² *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Vol. III of *Grundriss der Sozialoekonomik*.

2. What are the tasks of investigation of such a science?
3. What are the bases for systematization and the methods of analysis?

These inquiries have given rise, within the various systems of thinking, to several varieties of systematic sociology.

Historical sociology interprets present complex social behavior patterns through the history of simple group-life situations of the "natural man" of the past. It hopes to trace through the centuries the spirit of human relations and thus to discover the realistic associations of men of today.

The social forms in which knowledge is transmitted is of central import to sociologists in Germany. They have developed an elaborate "Wissenssoziologie," or *epistemological sociology*, of which Karl Mannheim of Frankfurt is one of the most brilliant exponents. How does knowledge influence behavior? What movements of thought are responsible for the major developments in our culture and civilization? What are the conditions under which various social groups react similarly or differently to diverse movements of thought?

Simultaneously with the philosophy of history and culture theory in sociology arose the attempt to narrow down the field of sociology to a specialized and homogeneous subject-matter which would develop sociology as an independent *systematic* science, deriving its material from "monographic studies of specific aspects of social life, based upon detailed and specialized research employing inductive methods and quantitative analysis."¹³

Georg Simmel died in 1918 but is still one of the most influential, and at the same time, the most severely criticized of the systematic sociologists in Germany. Up to his time the "organic" and "atomistic" conceptions of society

¹³ Th. Abel, *Systematic Sociology in Germany*, p. 7.

were still prevalent. He proceeded to elaborate the theory of *societalization* in order to stress the dynamic character of social life and its countless and complex interactions.¹⁴ He tried to develop sociology as a separate and specific science, with a distinct point of view, concerning itself with *forms* of societalization, that is, with the processes of interaction which take place between persons or groups in their numerous reciprocal relationships, whether in political, economic, legal, religious, or intellectual activities and values.¹⁵

Content, or the totality of concrete elements which make up the reality of social life of the present and the social products of the ages, including beliefs, norms, traditions, institutions, falls outside the field of sociology. To understand the forms of socialization it is necessary to analyze the mental states and processes of the individual who is at the basis of society, but these mental states and processes can only be understood on the basis of inner experience.¹⁶

Vierkandt, a writer in the field of culture history, through his *phenomenological* approach, inquires into the mental states, feelings, and inner experiences which are the products of social interaction. As a phenomenologist, he asserts that ideas and things, thoughts and beings of various groups and ages are absolutely different and must be studied as separate entities to understand their course and their reasoning. One's world of ideas constitutes one's only reality; beyond that there is nothing. Through this method of analysis, Vierkandt attempts to disclose ultimate facts, social relations and forms which produce societal life. "The unit of sociological thinking is not personality but the relation between human beings."¹⁷

¹⁴ *Soziologie*, p. 18.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 764.

¹⁷ *Gesellschaftslehre*, pp. 345 f.

Max Weber (died in 1920) believed that the social sciences have a distinct advantage over the natural sciences. The latter must take much for granted. The biologist cannot explain why cells behave in a certain manner. The social sciences can get at the underlying meaning of social behavior and explain the *why* of it. "But understanding presupposes experience and can be demonstrated as valid only with reference to experience," he says.¹⁸

He defines sociology as the science which undertakes to interpret and understand the intentional, or rational, reciprocal social behavior, and to account for the reason, purpose, and function which it performs in a given cultural complex.¹⁹ His sociology is referred to as *verstehende* or "understanding" sociology.

Weber holds that all social behavior is intentional, and the intention which prompts the individual to action is called meaning, not to the observer but to the actor. The fundamental concern of society is to *understand* the actor and the sources for his motives and intentions. This understanding is achieved either intellectually or by sympathy, that is, by projecting oneself into a situation and experiencing the emotional content involved.²⁰ Cooley's discussion of the "Roots of Social Knowledge"²¹ and his concepts of vicarious experience and insight parallel to some degree those of Weber.

His studies in the sociology of religion are of prime importance. He was concerned with the role which the leading world religious beliefs and magic play in economic life. His three volumes present a wealth of material and offer an analysis from such a broad standpoint that

¹⁸ *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, p. 12. See also *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre*.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²¹ *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1926, pp. 59-79.

it makes his work not merely a sociology of religion, but of all cultural life.

There is a close interdependence and mutual influence, he says, between religion and religious forms and economic life and organization of all ages, and among all peoples. Protestantism, he believes, is a religious expression of capitalism.

Ferdinand Toennies, who is one of the most important and influential figures in German sociology, achieved his position chiefly through his three distinct works: *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Community and Society), the first edition of which appeared in 1888 and the last revised edition in 1922, is still widely read; (2) *The Sitte* (Mores); (3) *Kritik der öffentlichen Meinung* (Critique of Public Opinion), a study of social movements and public opinion.

Toennies distinguishes between general and special sociology, and divides the whole field into (1) pure sociology, which is theoretical and concerns itself with community and society, social norms, social values, social structures, social interrelations; (2) applied sociology which is deductive in its method and draws its concrete materials from economics, politics, art, morals, science; and (3) empirical sociology which is inductive and includes observation, measurement and comparison of social reality.²²

The object matter of sociology to Toennies is neither social phenomena in general, nor the phenomena of human behavior in particular, but the relationships between community and society. There are two fundamental forms of relationships: the informal, the direct and spontaneous, that is, those existing in a community; and the indirect, formal and rather artificial, or those existing in a society. The communal relationships spring from primary life-

²² See Louis Wirth, "The Sociology of Ferdinand Toennies," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1926, pp. 412-22.

forces which originate in instinctive, habitual, and emotional reactions; the societal relationships develop because of rational, deliberate choices and contractual arrangements. The community is a natural union of people with harmonious and identical interests. There relationships are ends in themselves and not means to an end. Little differentiation is practiced, and little individuation is permitted or tolerated. Life is unique, warm, personal. There is a minimum of criticism, reflection, and individuation. Tradition is dominant; ritual, popular sentiment, group opinion, hold sway.²³ In a society individual interests predominate. Detachments are preferred. Division of labor is complex. Belief and religion give way to doctrine, personal reflection, and analysis. Mores and customs are overruled by fads and fashions. Common property gives way to personal property, and natural solidarity to contractual and legal agreements.

Toennies' analysis of *Die Sitte* is a radical departure from the generally accepted theories that morality is derived from religion, but argues that religion is derived from customary morality, which does not arise from religious sources, but is instilled in the young in very early life, either through fear of or respect for elders.

Toennies' *Kritik der öffentlichen Meinung* (Critique of Public Opinion) is regarded as an epoch-making contribution and the most elaborate analytical study of public opinion and social movements. He draws his concrete material from religion, education, politics, history of the World War, and contemporary social life.

Leopold von Wiese, a prolific writer, is influenced chiefly by Simmel of Germany and Ross of the United States. His system of sociology is designated as *behavioristic* because

²³ *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, pp. 1-191 (third edition).

he studies, organizes, systematizes, and analyzes the actual concrete occurrences of interaction in social behavior. His chief concern is the manifestation of the human behavior pattern, the specific actions and interactions which give rise to social reality.²⁴

With the exception of von Wiese, German sociology has made little study of the role of desires, wishes, attitudes, and values. He reiterates with Small and Thomas that not human needs but human wishes are determiners in social behavior and human associations.²⁵

The concepts "personality" and "individuality" are not widely found in the theories of German sociologists. In a "group-conscious" country such as Germany, the individual has not come much to the fore. It is true that the Youth Movement has greatly revised the thinking of the older generation and stimulated a new type of thinking in the younger generation, but both young and old, though having opposed sets of demands yet know themselves chiefly in reference to their group. In spite of the fact that the young have acquired a new definition of life, they have remained "group-conscious" and even "group-bound."

Von Wiese made a real contribution through his study of the political aspects of social life designated as *Sozialpolitik*. This word, von Wiese holds, is peculiar to the German language and has no equivalent in the theory or practice of other people. "Originally it meant the activity of the State as contrasted with that of bourgeois interests. Later it came to be used mainly to refer to the attempts to improve by governmental action the supposedly undesirable condition of the proletariat and an abstract conception of the political side of society in general. . . . Sociology has for its object of attention the relationships of men;

²⁴ *Allgemeine Soziologie*, p. 17.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 73.

Sozialpolitik is concerned with impulses and measures through which these relationships are influenced.²⁶

Von Wiese, in an attempt to avoid "the philosophical and epistemological polishing of words" and to supply concrete and carefully studied materials, has been fostering the statistical and case-method approaches to the study of social situations. He has conducted a number of monographic studies, the most notable of which is *Das Dorf als Soziales Gebilde* (The Village as a Social Structure).

Von Wiese's experimental sociology probably received its greatest impetus with the establishment, in 1919, of the Research Institute for the Social Sciences in Cologne. It consists of three divisions: sociological, with Professor von Wiese as director; social-political, with two "secretaries of state" as directors; and social-juridical under the leadership of a jurisprudent; a privy-councilor is business manager. This institute is supported from city funds, but is under the complete control of the university.

The sociological division attempts to develop suitable exploratory techniques for social research, to promote close coordination of sociological theory and practice, and to establish organizational connections between "researchers" and writers both within and outside of the country. This is accomplished through publications by the faculty, by a Cologne quarterly journal for sociology, and by means of concrete field studies by both students and faculty.

The social-juridical and social-political divisions carry on research in the field of labor and wage problems, in vocational education, and social legislation. The city government looks to this Institute for expert opinion on many social, economic, and civic questions confronting it. The In-

²⁶ *Sozialpolitik*, *Handwoerterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, Vol. VII, pp. 612-22. Quoted by F. House, *The Range of Social Theory*, p. 506.

stitute, on the other hand, serves the University as a social laboratory for the training of social research students.

The Germans have developed their own methods of field research, and as yet have not profited much by our experiences. They are slowly adopting the personal interview method in preference to the traditional questionnaire, and have come to appreciate the case-method in conjunction with statistical analysis.

Professor Andreas Walther, at the University of Hamburg, is a notable exponent of Amerian sociological methods and concepts, particularly in the field of ecology, which parallel closely those at the University of Chicago and the University of Southern California. He has developed maps indicating the location and variety of industries, of political parties, of religious organizations, social groupings, etc. He uses the concepts in English: "city," "slum," "downtown," "area," "gang," and many others.

There is little joint sociological research of note in Germany. In 1931 *Handwoerterbuch der Soziologie* (Handbook of Sociology) appeared in four large sections, under the editorship of Professor Alfred Vierkand of Berlin. Practically all German scientists writing in the field of sociology have contributed essays, thus presenting a composite view of sociological thinking in present-day Germany. This handbook sets forth (1) the sociology of the group in various aspects and ramifications; basic forms of human associations, leadership, castes and classes, marriage and family, the community, society, etc.; (2) general cultural sociology, dealing with types and stages of culture, fashions, revolutions, historical and social laws, etc.; and (3) sociology of single cultural fields and epochs: capitalism, citizenship, proletariat, the State, political parties, the worker, Bolshevism, Fascism, sociology of art, of music, of religion, etc.

The various papers are treated in a systematic, scholarly manner, and contain a wealth of ideas, of historical reference and illustrations, but there is little consistent use of factual material, and as a result, the analysis lacks in concreteness.

With characteristic thoroughness they have concerned themselves with definitions of concepts, have tested the basic hypotheses, scrutinized the factual data, examined and reexamined their beliefs, postulates, theories, and laws; they have pondered long over the "as is" and the "as if." They are interested, they say, in life as a whole, in social causation, and in a unitary interpretation of the manifoldness of life. As soon as one begins to dissect the complete social organization and to view it as distinct segments of life, he gets an erroneous conception of social processes and of human motivation. But the attempt to view life as a whole has invariably involved them in philosophical argumentation, epistemological discussion, and evaluation of social facts, and in a "highly obscure and presumptuous idealism."

The contacts and the interchange of ideas which Dean Small established with German sociologists were interrupted by the World War. Furthermore, the American sociological literature which has multiplied at an amazing rate since the war has not penetrated far into German sociological circles, because of its high price and its textbook character. There are practically no German sociological texts. Their philosophical approach to the problem probably checks this development.

Many German sociologists of note are only casually acquainted, if at all, with the new American experimental approach, with the quantitative methods of investigation, with factual studies of social life, even with the monumental monographic study of Thomas and Znaniecki. German

sociologists frequently are unfamiliar with the reviews and criticisms of their own theories in American literature.

Sociologists from both countries, who are acquainted with their respective contributions, say: German studies are original, though not popular and are often unsuitable for students; American studies are often mere compilations and reviews of others and are popular with students. German sociology concerns itself with analytical elaborations of concepts and definitions, with fundamental methods and epistemological problems; American sociology lacks logical discrimination and mastership of observable and relevant facts and pays comparatively little attention to antecedent history. German sociology stresses broad mental perspectives, logical analyses, and historical illustrations.

German sociologists deal with the outward forms of social life and those social processes which can be observed by shrewd, experienced scholars at a distance; American sociologists study inward forms of social life at close range, as observed by students in training. American sociology is quantitative and empirical in character but is relatively poorly digested. American scientists deal with practical problems of observable behavior, but they do not see the whole import of these problems in the complex of social forces.

There is considerable merit in the positions of both groups. That the two points of view can be blended advantageously is demonstrated in the works of von Wiese and Walther in Germany, and in that of some of the younger sociologists in America, such as, for example, Floyd House, Louis Wirth, and Howard Becker.²⁷

²⁷ Wiese-Becker, *Systematic Sociology* (John Wiley and Sons, 1932).

THE GERMAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

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GERMANY in the latter quarter of the Nineteenth Century was characterized by the development of an interlocking directorate of social institutions which had come to exercise an extraordinarily complete control over the life of the individual German, particularly in his youth. The family, school, industry, and church seem to have come almost simultaneously into the final stages of institutional formalism, sometimes spoken of as ossification, in which belief, ritual, convention, and discipline tend to be formal, barren, and in a sense meaningless and hence arbitrary.

Such a situation is apt to bear especially heavily upon youth. For them it meant unquestioning obedience to a father who, though not a tyrant, was nevertheless a stern master; submission to a semi-military schoolmaster, and later strict discipline in industry and army with one's time completely consumed in monotonous routines. A vast gulf was fixed between youth and its teachers, parents, drill masters, employers, and even pastors. While youth suffered much from the tensions developed in such a situation it was not prepared to take concerted action, indeed, it was not consciously aware of the nature or source of the trouble.

The extent to which youth failed to find satisfaction for its peculiar needs, we can best judge by the strength of the reaction against these institutions once youth became self-conscious and articulate. In brief, as in the case of other mass movements, the Youth Movement has its origins in /

the unsatisfactory character of the contemporary dominating institutions.

Social movements, of course, come into full bloom from the ruins of outmoded institutions only after a period of germination. The earliest evidence that a social movement is getting under way is the appearance of social unrest. Vague feelings that something is wrong, that "the times are out of joint," pervade the mass, tension increases, aimless discussion, irritation, working at cross purposes, mutual recrimination and sporadic conflict occur. Such movement as occurs is a mere shifting about from one uncomfortable position, as it were, to another which is no more comfortable. Like milling cattle before a stampede, the movement lacks direction, control, and purpose.

Historians of the Youth Movement are wont to date it from the activities of Karl Fisher, who in 1896 at a gymnasium in Steglitz near Berlin, reorganized a stenographers' association into a "Wanderbund." With the appearance of such leaders as Fisher, the second stage of the movement is ushered in. Almost simultaneously Richard Schirrmann at Gelsenkirchen and many less well-known leaders in widely separated places appeared; they were the prophets who articulated the longings of youth and gave definite direction to the growing unrest of the time. These leaders probably had no intention of starting a "youth movement"; they were simply stimulating small groups of dissatisfied youth to strike out along new lines in the search for a life more worth living.

The activities of the earlier youth groups were of astonishing simplicity. Hiking was the major activity and was soon developed into a fine art. Groups of one or both sexes wandered on week ends and during holidays, living a primitive, open-air life, subsisting on the simplest fare cooked over open fires in the forests and along the road-

sides, adventuring ever further afield, exploring the countryside, distant cities, old castles and medieval relics, museums, peoples, whatever new or interesting that one could find. These activities contrasted sharply with those of the conventional German student of the 'Nineties who was occupied with examination cramming, compulsory military training, duelling, beer-drinking, and affairs with servant girls. By contrast wandering was an adventure into a new, inspiring, clean, wholesome world.

The wandering groups rapidly developed a more elaborate technique of hiking. They adopted a new hair dress and special costumes: Men affected short breeches, bare knees, sandals, and the open-throated Schiller shirt; while women wore the picturesque *Dirndl* or flowered peasant frock. Thus the wanderers identified each other and set themselves off sharply from other youth. The intimacy of life along the road led to the development of a genuine feeling of brotherhood; the old, stiff formalities of polite conversation disappeared; in their stead the familiar "thee" and "thou" were adopted; and eventually a special jargon appeared. Singing and dancing on the march and in camp developed rapidly and soon assumed the character of a genuine revival of old folk songs and dances. The guitar with ribbons attached became the chosen musical instrument. To sing, to dance, and to wander on and on was the "new style of life." They early adopted the title "Wandervoegel," or Birds of Passage, and became a familiar picturesque sight throughout Germany.

These forms of behavior the Wandervoegel viewed as the necessary expressions of a new *Lebensgefuehl*, a new mood of life. The essence of life to the Wandervogel appeared to consist in wandering in the company of his fellows. Wandering, however, was a ritual with an esoteric meaning—a spiritual adventure in which the wanderers were

"drawn on and on by the strange longing they expressed figuratively as 'the quest for the blue flower.' "¹ The nature of the inner life of the Wandervoegel is not easy to depict but in many respects seems to approximate that of the religious sect. The unique clothing, music, dancing, and rituals were symbols of a new social relationship of well-nigh mystical character. The wandering life was itself but a symbol of the "categorical imperative to discard all but the merest necessities of life." A new emotional life, rich and intense, developed in the group, and the participant was swept along by a tide of feeling, warm, intimate, romantic, vivid and real, expressive of the "joy of youth." Wandervoegel frequently complain that students of the movement have not caught the essential spirit of the movement and fail to do justice to it.²

In this third stage of its development, the Youth Movement groups display many of the characteristics of primary groups. The members develop a distinctive set of virtues—sincerity, frugality, temperance, simplicity, cleanliness of body and mind, self-control, self-responsibility, and self-reliance—by which they seek to set themselves off from the rest of the world. They thus develop a new social type: the Wandervogel.

The beginning of the Youth Movement was not consciously a revolt *from* the conventional adult world, but was rather a movement *toward* a new social order. It made no explicit criticism in the beginning of the existing order of society, but simply sought a new and more satisfying way to live on those occasions when one could lay down books or tools and direct his life by free choice rather than by necessity. Nevertheless, many adults sensed that the

¹ Cf. Emile Chevalier, "The German Youth Movement," *Living Age*, CCCXXIX (April 10, 1926), pp. 99 f.

² Cf. Marcel Raymond, "The German Youth Movement," *Living Age*, CCCXXXIII (Sept. 1, 1927), p. 417.

doings of these wandering youths by implication criticized the conventional institutional provisions for youth. Shortly also certain youths became keenly aware of the incompatibility of the old and the new, and threw down the gage of battle to adults who promptly accepted the challenge. Thus conflict ushered in the fourth stage of the movement. One entire wing of the movement, under the leadership of such men as Hans Blueher and Gustav Wyneken, popularized the idea that "pastors, schoolmasters, and parents" are "the enemies of youth." Hostile attitudes toward school, state, church, and family spread rapidly and frequently took extreme forms. The more radical wing was soon locked in deadly battle with the adult world which they accused of "misunderstanding the youthful soul, violently invading the lives of youth," and "casting aspersions on their talents and abilities."³

Their objections to the schools were particularly vigorous. They accused teachers of acting at best only as "kindly jailers," who sought to mold youth in the interests of State rather than to serve youth's own proper purposes.⁴

Wyneken accused the adult world of having perpetrated upon youth a hateful set of institutions.⁵ These withering blasts of criticism of conventional society, accelerated the withdrawal movement in many quarters. Youth with increasing frequency openly defied parents, teachers, pastors, and adults generally, and set about living life according to its new ideals. It became keenly conscious of itself, aware of its peculiar needs, articulate and determined in pressing its claims. The movement thus entered the fifth stage, becoming at that point a "cause," a crusade with objectives, a unique point of view and a more formal organiza-

³ Cf. Hans Blueher, *Wandervogel* (4th ed.), Vol. I, p. 87.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 73 f.

⁵ "Call to Zentraljugendrat," August, 1919.

tion. Larger and larger circles of youth were swept into the movement. Simultaneously the social values of the movement became more clearly defined; new doctrines were boldly preached. The vast majority of youth in the movement took little part in the open battle against adults, they simply joined the wandering groups, participated in their activities, and so far as possible merely ignored the adult world.

Reflection led to much formula writing in which the high purposes of the movement were elaborated:

"Our aim is the return from decadent civilization to natural simplicity, from all that is external to what is inward and spontaneous. . . . We seek to set our souls right with God, with ourselves, with our fellows, and with Nature. . ."⁶

In its most direct and powerful forms of expression, the movement was a "call" to youth to forsake the old dead life and to enter into a new, virile, idealistic life—to become new men. Muck-Lamberty, one of the most picturesque leaders, led a group of twenty-five young people, singing and dancing through Thuringia, gaining crowds of adherents. The similarity of the movement to religious sectarianism is vividly shown by a "dodger" which he circulated before entering a village with his "Neuschar" or "new Host," in which he urged youth to "combine to fight against everything that is rotten and corrupt in our society," and inveighed against "indecent dances, and other flimsy things of the old 'Kultur,' . . . hurdy-gurdies, nonsense, soulless merchandise. . . . everything except real joy, real getting to know each other; no healthy, hearty joyfulness, no folk life."⁷

At this stage the movement had become definitely a revolt against officialdom, against materialism and the ma-

⁶ Cf. *Johannisfeuer* *passim*.

⁷ Cf. Bruno Lasker, "The Youth Movement in Germany," *Survey*, XLVII (Dec. 31, 1921), p. 493.

chine-age with its overcrowded cities, cheapened products, and mad scramble for wealth, against false intellectualism, against superficial pleasure-seeking, against smug complacency, and the indecencies behind conventional bourgeois modes of life, and against the prevailing racial, class, and caste distinctions; it turned its back squarely upon the ancient ideologies, rejecting "blind obedience, admiration, and worship," denying the merit of hard work, challenging the discipline implied in the universal "*verboten*," declaring itself unconditionally opposed to the values then promulgated by family, school, church, and state.

Soon the scattered forces of the movement began to coalesce and in October 1913, as the result of a call signed by thirteen organizations, a conference was held at Hohe Meissner. The call was written by Wyneken and clearly summarized the now clarifying motives and purposes of the new youth. Wyneken called upon youth, hitherto despised and exploited, to set out on its own initiative to "create its own life" and to prepare "to incorporate itself as a special factor in the general culture-tasks."⁸

The very lively, picturesque Hohe Meissner conference at which the colorful songs, rituals, and nature-life of the movement were fully in evidence, carefully avoided commitment to any definite program or specific goals. It did, however, develop and adopt a formula expressing the ideals of the movement, known as the Hohe Meissner creed: "The Free German Youth feel the call to mold their own lives upon their own responsibility in accordance with their inner sense of truth and rightness. Under all circumstances they will stand together for this inner freedom. . . . All gatherings of the Free German Youth shall be free of alcohol and nicotine."⁹

⁸ Cf. *Der Anfang*, I (1913), pp. 129 f.

⁹ Otto Staehlin, *Die deutsche Jugendbewegung*, p. 16.

"Freedom" became a slogan for the movement: "Nicht sollen, sondern wollen" (not compulsion, but volition). The movement, therefore, aimed not merely at the destruction of old values but searched actively for new values. Unfortunately the movement suffered somewhat since, after all, it was a movement of inexperienced youth who were unable to find an wholly satisfactory definition of what constituted freedom. Furthermore, the excesses of what has been called "the lunatic fringe," which clings to every mass movement, led to sharp criticism. Some of the wandering groups included both sexes and some of these practiced nude bathing, idealizing the human body and seeking for some "more natural type" of sex relation. As may be expected breaches of conventional sex mores occurred. Nevertheless, when we properly discount the gross exaggerations which such matters suffer when treated in the press and even in so-called "scientific" reports, they seem to play an incidental rather than a significant role in the development of the movement.

From earliest times it is possible to identify two divergent tendencies within the Youth Movement: radical and conservative. Under the leadership of Wyneken, the radicals attempted complete secession from control of present-day culture which they sarcastically criticized, resorting many times to gross impieties and bitter animosities. They were highly self-conscious and pledged themselves to create a new Youth-Culture; the conservatives, on the contrary, were content to develop a new youth-life within the existing school, home, and community. They did not seek to destroy piety and respect for elders but did insist upon an independent view while living the new style of life without secession. Between these two extremes were many gradations, but common to them all was the striving for a type of life suitable for youth, a profound conviction of the

unique value of youth, and insistence upon its special rights.

The public, however, was disturbed by the excesses of the radicals and in January, 1914, the entire movement was assailed in the Bavarian legislature as "subversive of school, religion, and patriotism." In reply "Free German Youth" called a meeting in Munich at which Professor Alfred Weber, the well-known sociologist, undertook to clarify public opinion regarding the movement.

In the following March a conference was called at Marburg at which the struggle between radical and conservative elements came to a head. A new formula was adopted: "The reconciliation of the values which the elders have created and passed on, we shall supplement in this manner in that we with inner veracity, upon our own responsibility, shall develop of ourselves our own powers." The radicals were outraged by the mildness of the new creed. Wyneken in great disdain denounced it and withdrew from the conference, declaring: "Every billiard club and clerical students' association can subscribe to this creed."

At Marburg the movement enters a new stage, the sixth, that of schism and internal dissension. Youth became disturbed by differences of opinion, by attempts to justify points of view, and by concern over problems of orthodoxy, public relations, social tactics and strategy; the movement was now an institution with the problems of policy and organization which confront institutions generally.

The more energetic leaders soon set about creating new social institutions in which the educational, economic, and social ideals of the movement could be given concrete form. Experimental "free" schools were established, communal industries and collective farms were attempted with more or less success. Of greater importance than these attempts to create something new was the gradual infiltration of

youth movement adherents, as they grew older, into positions of control in the established institutions. Education, social work, and the professions generally were thus vigorously stimulated.

Meantime, the inspirational literature of the movement grew, its liturgy was enriched, a "new" poetry was cultivated, all expressive of the growing mysticism of the movement—a mysticism varying in degree from pure pantheism to spiritual Christianity. The dominant mood was Romanticism, and shortly Romanticism was conceived by many as the tool by which machine-age mankind was to be rescued and regenerated. In its more extreme forms these romantic tendencies led to emphasis upon liturgical rather than upon textual values, to elaboration of symbolic imagery, to the adoption of abstruse poets—the more obscure the better. Youth turned to whatever might "provoke tears as one wandered with his companions in the moonlight by some forest rill."

In certain quarters an open attack upon vice and evils of long standing was made. The attitude toward alcohol is especially noteworthy. In 1926-27 it was estimated that 47 per cent of German youth between the ages of 14 and 21 years were members of some youth group. Some 15 associations required 100 per cent teetotalism and had anti-alcoholic programs; many groups do not require a pledge of members but are actually abstainers and do not serve alcohol at meetings. In general, there is a great aversion to alcohol. A vigorous campaign against pornographic literature, drama, and cinema has been carried on by some more aggressive elements.

The early policy of the Youth Movement was averse to the acceptance of any specific political or social program. To them the party spirit of continental politics was abhorrent and they refused to concern themselves with the wran-

gles of what they scornfully term *Machtpolitik* (struggle for power). Overtures from politicians were therefore repulsed by the original Wandervoegel. Clever politicians began to cultivate youth movements among their constituencies, which they hoped to steer in their own interest. Soon there were socialist, communist, social democratic, and other varieties of youth groups attached to the political parties. Ecclesiastical authorities also encouraged youth to organize. The Catholic group is particularly strong at the present time.

Youth affiliated with political and religious organizations have nevertheless freely criticized adult leaders and have not hesitated to take a definite stand when the issue was to them clearly one of the new ideals of youth versus the traditional ideals of adults. Thus the youth movement moved into the seventh stage of its development in which it made definite adjustments to the adult world, receiving the sanction of adults, and in many instances ceasing to be a wholly independent movement. The turn of events hastened this change of front. The problems precipitated by war and revolution were too insistent to be ignored by youth. Moreover, the old leaders had perished by the thousands in the war into the forefront of which they were drawn by their idealism, energy, and hardihood. The outer forms expressed in wandering, clothing, song, dance, and ritual persist but adulthood has penetrated into the inner citadels and changed the spirit of the movement.

The extent of the role which adults play is indicated in part by the fact that by 1927 more than 2,300 youth-shelters, or *Herberge*, had been established in old castles, roadside inns, or in new municipal buildings equipped simply but completely with kitchens, showers, sleeping quarters, and assembly rooms. In that year more than 2,650,000 overnight guests were received in these quarters at very

low rates. Railroads offer them reduced rates, museums ask only small fees, if any, and wandering youth finds its road smoothed all along by solicitous adults. There are still a few who maintain the traditional independent life of the Wandervoegel, such as the Nerothe Bund with its headquarters in the Hunrueck.

The accommodation of the Youth Movement to the adult world did not occur until its impress had been clearly made upon thousands of young Germans. Its adherents are easily recognized by "the simplicity and heartiness of their manner" and by "their splendid physical development, the loveliness of clear skins, and open spiritual faces, their grace of movement, charm of diction."¹⁰ The new youth-type is further characterized by a new born feeling for nature, a passionate love of music and art, an inarticulate longing for new forms of society, a new code of ethics for himself and parents, a new standard of morals based on inner conviction and "necessity," and a rejection of "blind obedience, admiration, and worship."

Conversely the adult world has been powerfully influenced by its attempt to meet and deal with this new personality. The new German state is anxious to meet the needs and desires of youth, the present-day school has adopted hiking, folk-songs and folk dances and now expects the teacher to assume the role of comrade rather than that of semi-military instructor. The handicrafts have been powerfully stimulated by youth's dislike for the flimsy, standardized artificiality of machine-made art and of cheap, made-to-sell goods of all kinds.

Though much changed from the days of Hohe Meissner, the Youth Movement has in no sense "run its course." It has left behind much of its early faith, doctrine, and ideals

¹⁰ Bruno Lasker, "The Youth Movement in Germany," *Survey*, XLVII (Dec. 31, 1921), p. 489.

and adopted some of the very things it formerly despised. There is evidence, however, that the Movement has passed through one complete cycle of its development. Already the suspicion is gaining currency among youth that adults have once more gained control of youth—not by force, they say, but by guile, and youth again is being betrayed, exploited, and abused as of old. Thus the soil is prepared and the seeds sown which may result in a new youth movement or in a revival of the "old" Youth Movement.

The major trends in the Youth Movement seem to indicate that the tension between youth and age produces a moving equilibrium between the secondary society of adult life and the primary group-life toward which youth is more disposed. Prolonged study will be necessary to make clear the precise course of events in the cycle which this balancing of antithetical forces tends to create. It has been possible to indicate only the barest outlines of such a "natural-history" sequence in the present prolegomena.

Pacific Sociological Society Notes

G. D. N.

The Pacific Sociological Society is steadily forging ahead toward the assumption of all the perquisites that a position of eminence held by such a body might portend for sociology in the Pacific area; an area including not only the Pacific States, but our friends to the south, and our neighbors across the Pacific as well. Large in point of number and enthusiastic in spirit was the delegation present at the third annual meeting held January 23 at Pomona College, Claremont, California.

Time was allocated to three sessions: a morning one built about the theme, "Social Trends in Germany," a luncheon gathering presenting "Sociological Highlights of 1931," and an afternoon session concerned with "Sociological Research." Presiding over these were respectively, Dr. George M. Day of Occidental College, Dr. William Kirk of Pomona College, and Dr. J. Stewart Burgess of Pomona College. Abstracts of the papers presented at the morning and afternoon meetings appear in the current issue of this journal as articles, Drs. Erle F. and Pauline V. Young in their treatment speaking on the basis of a year's sojourn in Germany, Dr. William Kirk drawing on materials gathered in the course of research studies at Pomona College, and Mr. Herbert D. Alexander presenting findings of research among local educated Negroes.

From the standpoint of content, conciseness, and literary achievement, what proved to be a well developed address was that given by Dr. E. S. Bogardus in which he categorized sociological developments for 1931, as voiced through the annual American Sociological Society meeting in December, attended by him. Said he in part: "There were seventy-two papers read at the meeting. I placed these under twenty-five classifications which in turn were grouped under five major headings." There follow samples of the twenty-five under the five: (1) Ecological, including such elements as census on a community rather than a political area basis, and the restoration of the family pattern in the auto-camp; (2) Cultural sociology, a gamut from the Negro spiritual as a Negro survival of white revival songs to con-

temporary Chinese culture representing more of a deepening of the old than an acquisition of the Western; (3) Social Process, handling such topics as nature of social process, limits to social process, and urbanization as a change from a mode of living to a profit-seeking procedure; (4) Behavior Problems due to increased mobility and impersonalization, to compensation for painful feelings aroused by breaking moral habits, and to personality disorganization within the family; and (5) Methodological in which the relative claims of the behavioristic non-participant observation, and case study methods of sociological research were scrutinized.

Paucity of time at the close of the day minimized discussion and comments, but those who had opportunity to speak directed their thoughts to the present controversy in the sociological world concerning methods of research. Dr. Clarence M. Case brought out two points that were well taken, namely: so far we have not found *the* method of sociological research—present-day methods are helpful and indicative in that they are leading us to this *real* method; and, a point that should be given more stress, a hopeful point in human research, is that we can know what people think they think is important; a fact which should be capitalized, for when we study inanimate objects, molecules and atoms, this is not possible with a resultant slowing down of rate of progress. It was generally agreed by the group that a combination of participant observer and observing participant method is important, for while we are doing we are not apt to write about our actions, and while writing about behavior we cannot well be doing; hence, the significance of alternately participating and observing in any research project.

Officers elected for the coming year were: President, Dr. Clarence Marsh Case, University of Southern California; Vice-President, Dr. George M. Day, Occidental College; and Secretary-Treasurer, W. E. Henley, Whittier College. Dr. Case intimated that during the coming year, possibly the Pacific Rim aspect of the society's position might be given precedence and a symposium on developments of Pacific Rim sociology be developed.

Book Notes

STUDENTS' ATTITUDES. By DANIEL KATZ and FLOYD H. ALPORT, with cooperation of MARGARET B. JENNESS. The Craftsman Press, Inc., Syracuse, N. Y., 1931.

The book deals with the college situation from the standpoint of the student. It covers such themes as: reasons for coming to college and for remaining; how students rate different college activities; attitudes toward studies, toward fraternities, toward cribbing, toward coeducation and sex; the personal ideals of students; the problem of choosing a vocation; the problem of snobbishness; religious beliefs and changes in them. A supplementary chapter on "the technique of attitude measurement is appended." A total of 4,248 students at Syracuse University furnished data by the questionnaire method. Crowd psychology was avoided in having the questionnaires filled out. Sample facts are: 41.2 per cent of the students chose Syracuse because of its proximity to their homes, while only 2.3 per cent because of religious affiliations; 42.4 per cent rated studies as the most important phase of college, while the majority put other factors first. The majority of students attend college because of "the more popular interests of social life upon the campus" and place "a subordinate value" on intellectual ability and scholarship. Fraternity members fall considerably below non-fraternity students in the value that is attached to study. A far larger percentage of the former than of the latter condone cribbing and cheating. A total of 88 per cent of the "Liberal Arts" students expressed a need for religion, but indicated that a serious gap exists between this need and what is being offered by churches.

This volume is immensely interesting and will serve, it is to be hoped, as a stimulus for similar studies in other colleges and universities. It shows both the strong and weak points of the questionnaire method and indicates the need for supplementary case studies in order that the processes by which current attitudes are developed may be understood.

E. S. B.

WORLD WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENTS. By MARIUS HANSOME. Columbia University Press, New York, 1931, pp. 594.

One of the most important conclusions reached by Professor Hansome in this searching analysis and wide dimensional survey of workers' educational movements is that labor education is not only a distinct challenge to the public educational system as at present constituted, but a "challenge to all workers by hand and brain to become the masters of social direction." The importance of this adds general significance to the study of the general educational movement as well as to workers' educational movements. It is strikingly unfortunate that the author has neglected to present the history of the separate efforts made by the various classes of workers. Particular problems are therefore lacking, and experiences which would have had much significance are lost. But notwithstanding, the book still remains important for the philosophical implications behind the mass educational movement that it presents. The progress of the labor movement of a century is well indicated; in 1824, trade unionism had wrested legal recognition from Parliament, 1844 marked the beginning of the workers' cooperative movement, 1864 found Karl Marx inaugurating the International Workingmen's Association, 1874 saw the first labor members seated in Parliament, and 1924 witnessed the Third International Conference on Workers' Education meeting in conclave at Oxford, and this on the eve of the advent of the first labor government in Britain. Truly, a century of progress.

Part Three dealing with the social significance of world workers' education seems to be the best part of the book because of the searching and constructive criticism which is offered. It is wisely pointed out that a more integrated organization, a revised curricula stressing both the natural and the social sciences, the presentation of subjects so that a rational critical and unprejudiced attitude may result, are the principal needs of the movement. The educational movement of the workers "demonstrates that the organized labor movement is now interested not only in the idea of power and its redistribution but also in the power of ideas." The book is generally well worthy of attention.

M. J. V.

TEXTILE UNIONISM AND THE SOUTH. By GEORGE SINCLAIR MITCHELL. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1931, pp. ix+92.

This brief but comprehensive study of textile unionism in the South points out very clearly the democratizing influence of the trade union movement. The author believes that the South should welcome the advent of a movement which gives every promise of being able to train its backward mill people in the ways of self-government. If the study succeeds in convincing the citizens of the South, it will have fulfilled a noble purpose.

A brief historical sketch of the development of textile unionism in the North introduces the reader to the difficult problems which the textile workers face in general; only about four per cent of the million workers are organized; much narrow craft spirit prevails as a positive handicap to the welfare of the whole; a large proportion of women and children, with attendant low wages, complicates matters, and worse still, immigrant labor is constantly attracted because of the low degree of skill required in many of the operations. In the South, the strength of the movement seems to have depended largely upon the intermittent support of the skilled northern workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Political authorities, anxious for the industrial growth of the South, have interfered with the union growth quite as much as the abundance of an ignorant reserve of farm labor capable of induction into the mills. Hope for union development and expansion lies in the readiness of thousands of mill workers to join the union movement, and this readiness extends to both women and negroes.

M. J. V.

EXPERIMENTAL SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By GARDNER MURPHY and LOIS BARCLAY MURPHY. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1931, pp. 709.

The authors have produced a veritable encyclopedia of materials dealing with studies that have been made in social psychology and to a certain extent in the overlapping phases of applied psychology, educational psychology, and experimental psychology. Even the informed reader will be amazed at the number of research studies that have been and are being conducted in these fields, as evidenced by this volume. The authors have used splendid judgment both in the selection of materials and in the choice of points to be stressed. They

have been fair and catholic in their difficult tasks of analysis, presentation, and criticism. The result is a constructive reference work of signal value.

Especially valuable chapters are those which summarize research data under such headings as "Social Attitudes and their Measurements," "An Introduction to the Measurement of Personality," "The Cooperating Group," and "The Individual in the Group Situation." Other chapters illustrate even better the point of view of the entire book which is to show how social psychology is an outgrowth of research in general psychology or individual psychology. While no general conclusions are offered at any point, partly because most of the studies are incomplete and fugitive; and while the volume is an addition to the literature of social psychology from the psychologist's viewpoint, the social psychologist with a sociological viewpoint will find every chapter a stimulus, even though he may feel a certain incompleteness.

E. S. B.

LENIN: RED DICTATOR. By GEORGE VERNADSKY. Translated by Malcolm W. Davis. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1931, pp. 351.

In this brilliant biography, which seems to be free from bias, Lenin is recognized for his truly great part in the political affairs of Russia since the Revolution of 1905. The author at once calmly removes any suspicions of personal hatred or revenge as Lenin's motive, but he gives a complete picture of Lenin as a fanatic in his idealism, who is ruthless and merciless in his methods although earnest in his convictions and purposes. Lenin's escapades during the World War, his scheme to break down the morale of the Russian opposition to Germany and to bring about the Revolution of 1917, the Bolshevik seizure of power, his use of terror as a weapon to further his cause, his reversion to the New Economic Policy as a compromise of uncertain duration, as well as his pronounced attitudes and achievements, all indicate the unique opportunism of the man, and his exceptional ability for leadership always comes to the front. Whether the reader is sympathetic toward Socialism or not, surely he will realize that Lenin is one of the greatest men in Russia's history, and he will also see why his influence continues after his death. This book is excellent for a background to present-day Russian experiments, for its scope, there is a surprising wealth of information.

J. E. N.

SOCIETY: ITS STRUCTURE AND CHANGES. By R. M. McIver. Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc., New York, 1931, pp. xvi+569.

Professor McIver has succeeded in writing an important and arresting diagnosis of society in this new book. In it, he has struck a fundamental note for sociologists, i.e., "that social phenomena are facts of conscious experience, consciously created or sustained," for it is true that "not a single social phenomenon would exist were it not for creative experiences of social beings such as we are ourselves." To those who are caught by the fetish of making sociology an exact science based upon mathematical formulae, the author issues a warning—these are losing sight of the infinite variability and subtleness of human experiences, which cannot alone be understood by counting, measuring, or manipulating them. Is not this to lose sight of the main business of the sociologist to reveal the social structure and the way of change in that structure? In this connection, Professor McIver points out rightly that as it is now, the student often finds a clearer illumination of the working of society in the fragmentary revelations of the novelist, dramatist, and essayist. In the author's words: "Cannot the sociologist combine the art of revelation with presentation of order?"

To penetrate the meaning of any social phenomena, it becomes necessary to diagnose the manner in which a social situation reacts upon the minds of men, discovering how it modifies their social responses, and how these in turn tend to influence the whole situation, a "gestalt" point of view which is a vital factor in understanding human society. This reviewer has been markedly impressed with the description of the social bond, a finely analytical piece of discussion, invitingly stimulating.

Not only does the author attempt to delineate the proper field for sociology, the study of social relationships as such, but there is an attempt made to "sociologize" certain basic tools, concepts, or keywords, as society, community, association, institutions, and mores. This is done well; however, such terms as *individual*, and *attitudes*, in the hands of Professor McIver are noted to differ somewhat from those of other writers in the field, which, of course, he himself recognizes, but which again suggests that a round-table conference for clarification of the use of sociological concepts would be of inestimable value to the beginning student. At any rate, the book is a valuable one, and Professor McIver's social thought will be found to be

significant, and his interpretation of society, aiming to probe the "inner phenomena of experience," a profound and distinctive contribution.

M. J. V.

DJUKA. THE BUSH NEGROES OF DUTCH GUIANA. By MORTON C. KAHN. The Viking Press, New York, 1931, pp. xxiv+233.

In northeastern South America, at Surinam, there is a remarkable Negro culture which was founded by slaves who rebelliously ran off into the bush back in the 17th and 18th centuries. These slave Negroes were brought to Dutch Guiana from the Ivory and Gold coast, and in many respects the customs and traditions of the Surinam Djuka are similar to those of former as well as contemporary African tribes. Dr. Kahn scientifically and graphically describes the life and problems of the Djuka. Especially well related are the data concerning family and social organization, the significance of their dance and art, and there are many fine examples of their superstition, medicine and magic. Special attention is given to survivals from Africa. There is nothing servile about these Negroes; they are proud and independent. Primitive in some of their practices and beliefs, in their morality or un-morality, yet they have been influenced by contacts with the English, Dutch, French, Spanish, and Portugese, with consequent diffusion of culture. Of this their *lingua franca*, a childish form of talkee-talkee, is an obvious testimonial. The white man, who is only too well acquainted with the challenge of great odds always present in the jungle, cannot withhold admiration for the Djuka who have thus built up a civilization in the bush. The book is richly illustrated. While of real value for the sociologist and anthropologist, the style of exposition has the appeal of a trav-
elogue.

J. E. N.

INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By HOMER C. HOCKETT. Macmillan, New York, 1931, pp. xiv+168.

In this scholarly volume the student of sociology will find much of value. The three main subjects considered are: the gathering of data, the criticism of data, and the presentation of data. History is defined as "any effort to recount or describe any portion or phase of the past life of humankind." The section on "Criticism of Data" contains novel suggestions with reference to both external and internal (or higher) criticism.

E. S. B.

OURSELVES AND THE WORLD. By F. E. LUMLEY and BOYD H. BODE. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1931, pp. viii+591.

The subtitle of this book is "The Making of an American Citizen." The contents are divided into four parts dealing respectively with the candidate for citizenship, institutions and how to live with them, the chief institutions of American life and government and democracy. The book is popular in style and is also embellished with a number of interesting pen sketches.

The book is based on the thesis that democracy should be the guiding principle in social life. The discussion of growth and society, how institutions bind and how institutions liberate reflects a keen understanding of the principles that are involved. Other chapters deal with the family, the school, labor and capital, the press, religion, and with the various forms and branches of our governmental agencies. Each chapter is provided with a set of questions and problems and a short bibliography. The questions are helpful and stimulating and a brief index brings us to the last page.

A popular presentation of the democratic ideal has distinct value but to produce results needs to be read by a large number of the common people.

G. B. M.

DIVORCE: A SOCIAL INTERPRETATION. By J. P. LICHTENBERGER. Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1931, pp. xvii+472.

This is not a mere revision of a previous work on the subject, but represents a new contribution. The treatment is comprehensive and the material is well organized and analyzed. The historical, the statistical, and the expository approaches are utilized with a view of getting at the causes of this vexing problem—divorce. "Divorce is not the cause of marriage breakdown, but its result. As such, both in its personal and in its social aspects, it is one of the most serious problems of contemporary civilization and yet one least adequately apprehended and understood." The history of divorce, both as to its existence and the legislative and other efforts to control it, is well treated. This gives the reader an historical perspective which enables him to more adequately appraise the present situation. Statistics are given to indicate the extent of the problem, particularly as it is found in the United States.

Although the rising tide of divorce is pronounced in all modern countries, except Japan, the United States leads the world both in actual numbers and in percentages. In 1929 we granted 201,468 divorces, which is 1.66 per 1,000 of the total population and about one divorce for every 6 marriages. Nevada has 28.13 per 1,000 people, whereas South Carolina has none. Some 21 states have more than 2 divorces per 1,000 people, and 12 states have less than 1 per 1,000. The divorce rate is higher in urban than in rural areas. Over 71 per cent of the divorces are granted to wives. Some 57.1 per cent of the divorced couples reported no children and 5.7 per cent did not report as to children. Over 78 per cent of the divorces were granted on the grounds of cruelty, desertion, and adultery. The author points out the changes in civil and ecclesiastical divorce legislation. Divorce, however, goes back not so much to changes in law as to external influences and pressures and also internal tensions and strains. The economic changes, the progress of liberalism, and the revised ethical and religious views have an important influence. The changing concepts of marriage, sexual maladjustment, and conflicting behavior situations and processes produce internal tensions.

M. H. N.

SOCIAL WORK ETHICS. By LULA JEAN ELLIOTT. Studies in the Practice of Social Work, No. 3. Published by American Association of Social Workers, New York, June, 1931, pp. 48, with bibliography and appendices.

This study was a Master's thesis at Northwestern University (1929), and was undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Arthur J. Todd. It is based upon a study of the various codes for social workers which have been developed by local chapters of the American Association of Social Workers and other perhaps less formal groups of social workers. In addition the author communicated with professional schools of social work and discovered only three which reported using a code for instruction, Johns Hopkins University, the University of Michigan, and the University of Southern California. The third source of data was a questionnaire sent to members of the Chicago Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers to discover their attitudes toward certain ethical questions.

In the summary, the author points out the fact that "no code of ethics has been officially adopted by the professional group as a whole." Six codes have been formulated and thirty of the thirty-

eight chapters have considered ethical problems. The Schools of Social Work, for the most part, give instruction in professional ethics informally and incidentally. The author believes that whatever code may be developed must "recognize the necessity for considering the individual nature of social work problems" and "must represent a balance between the ideal and existing social conditions."

The pamphlet should be widely used in classes in the professional schools and in study groups of social workers. B. A. McC.

ONE HUNDRED RED DAYS. *A Personal Chronicle of the Bolshevik Revolution.* By EDGAR SISSON. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1931, pp. xv+502.

The author gives practically a daily chronicle of the Russian Revolution from November 25, 1917 to March 4, 1918. He tells how he executed his mission as a special representative of President Wilson in Russia. While there, he was essentially an American propagandist diffusing information concerning American purpose and effort in the World War. He also cooperated with any movement to bolster up the Russian morale, and of course did what he could to weaken German morale, through handbills, posters, the press, etc. This makes interesting reading, but more valuable is the story of the Russian Revolution with its conspiracy and intrigue, its reign of terror, its militant Bolshevism in general. The author mentions many experiences and contacts with the leading characters in the Revolution; and thus there emerges a humanized concept of the "Red Days" in Russia. The person who wants a graphic, intimate account of Bolshevism will do well to read this book, which may be recommended as a unique contribution.

J. E. N.

A MIND THAT WAS DIFFERENT. By DOW THOMPSON. With an Introduction by M. V. O'Shea. Harlow Publishing Company, Oklahoma City, 1931, pp. xiii+117.

This little volume is quasi-autobiographical in character. The author contrasts the personality traits of himself and his brother and gives a somewhat disconnected series of incidents which bear out his thesis that the differentiation of introvert and extrovert is the fundamental key to the understanding of human behavior. A host of leading personalities are casually mentioned but no thoroughgoing scientific case study of any one is presented. The author believes he has found the solution to the personality difficulties with which the definitely introverted person is usually confronted. E. F. Y.

International Notes

Edited by JOHN ERIC NORDSKOG

THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE in progress in Geneva has been heralded for a long time with both hopes and misgivings. It is a serious business, with fifty-two nations keenly involved in the outcome. A radical reduction of armament is more than one can feel sanguine about at present; and if there should result any reduction, it will no doubt leave the major powers in *status quo* proportionately. There are really several conferences under way simultaneously because the influential nations vary in strength of navy, army, air armament, etc. There is also the problem of chemical armaments and the control of such frightful weapons. And how will the nations arrange for and submit to supervision once any degree of reduction (not to count on early disarmament) has been accepted? Not one but a series of conferences will be necessary to follow up this most complex introductory meeting. There are too many details and obstacles to overcome. Why, for instance, should France be willing to cut down its army, since dominance in eastern Europe is maintained thereby? Why should France yield position to another power, say Germany? Or why ease up on Italy or Poland when in a military sense either country would become subordinate to some nation other than France? If Europe disarms or reduces armament, what will become of imperialistic interests in the Orient or in Africa? To repeat, it is a serious business, and not to be disposed of in a hurry. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that the masses of people everywhere want peace and disarmament.

SPAIN's new constitution experienced the refining process of 103 days of debate before the official vote which resulted in adoption, with 368 votes favorable and 98 of the 466 members not voting. The revolutionary trend in Spain is evident in some salient points in the constitution, of which are: separation of Church and State—the Church, as well as the military organizations has been among the

bulwarks of the old regime; liberty of thought and freedom of speech; equal suffrage for men and women, and closely akin to this, the principle of divorce is recognized, also the equality of the sexes. The constitution recognizes the dignity of labor; civil education is to be furthered; the small farmer is to be aided and protected; federalism takes care of state and regional rights. Of particular interest is the adoption of a single-chamber legislature possessing greater power than the executive, also the disavowal of war as a political policy, and the provision to cooperate with the League of Nations. All in all, Spain is in some respects ahead of many other nations in the changes made by the new instrument.

Some of the reforms contemplated will hit hard in specific places, as already experienced in connection with religious groups. In January it was public information that the Jesuit order was to be dissolved. The trend in Spain is against privileged organizations such as have been traditional there for centuries. The Jesuits, founded in the sixteenth century by Ignatius Loyola, have four hundred years of interesting history. The order is wealthy, with some \$100,000,000 of property, of which \$30,000,000 or more might be confiscated by the State. The radicals in Spain regard the Jesuits as too friendly with the aristocratic classes. It seems then, that the institution has run its cycle, and is to be broken down because the new aims of the present government, or at least of those in power, conflict with Jesuit traditions. Perhaps it is only a convenience that the constitution provides for the dissolution of any religious order which places allegiance to the Pope before allegiance to the State. It is conceivable, however, that as in Russia it was deemed necessary to break the power of the Orthodox Church which was a bulwark of the Tzardom, so now in Spain it is regarded essential for the government to eliminate privileged groups or institutions that have heretofore wielded considerable political power.

DECLARATION OF WAR seems out of fashion, although a state of war might for all intents and purposes exist, as now between Japan and China. Japan is the aggressor, defying the other members of the League of Nations. According to Article 16 of the Covenant, in case of an act of war by any member, "it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertakes immediately to subject it to the

severance of all trade and financial relations . . . the prohibition of all financial, personal, or commercial intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the League or not." Failure to declare war may in some ways preclude interference by the League. The present state of Sino-Japanese relations causes one to inquire just what "act of war" would be sufficient to cause the League to act. Is a technical "declaration" of war so necessary? Is it any wonder the League is being criticized as to its sincerity and utility, after the repeated efforts since 1920 to eliminate war and the causes of war—efforts shared by both Orient and Occident. Japan's aggression has been neatly timed to take advantage of European and American difficulties which are not only international but essentially domestic and enhanced by the depression. Japan does not want Manchuria for emigration; it wants to dominate the economic life of Manchuria. And now Japan is threatening and entering China, as at Shanghai, to coerce the Chinese into breaking the boycott. If Article 16 referred to would become effective, and if only a few of the major powers, such as England, France, Germany, and the United States of America were to withdraw their ministers and declare a boycott against Japan's silk and other wares, this in addition to the Chinese boycott or even by itself would quickly cripple Japan's war-machine, which like all others depends upon finances. Instead, bickering about open door policies and imperialistic interests prevails. It is national provincialism and imperialism up to the old tricks which endanger the peace of the world, and hamper the functioning of such international institutions as exist. Japan's lack of sincerity while championing the integrity of Korea during the early part of this century (in connection with the Russo-Japanese war) gives sufficient grounds for doubting the promises and proposals current today. As for Peace Pacts, they should blush at the name.

Social Research Notes

Edited by MARTIN H. NEUMEYER

A STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY CULTURE. The Department of Sociology at Pomona College, under the leadership of Dr. William Kirk, is conducting an intensive study of contemporary culture in Claremont, California. The immediate objectives are: (a) to describe the origin and growth of a functional group; (b) to give a background description of group behavior in terms of physical environment, ecological areas, demographic factors, economic and social conditions; (c) to observe the group in action with a view of discovering not only what is going on but what the group thinks that it is doing; and (d) to ascertain the meaning of group behavior by an analysis of the causes of action observed and the attendant results. The study is financed by grants from the college and by gifts from interested friends. Research assistants are employed as field workers, who identify themselves with the groups under observation. In addition to the records of the "participant observers," other sources of information are: (a) personal and group interviews, questionnaire material and life histories; (b) public records; (c) private documents; (d) files of newspapers and periodicals; (e) personal diaries; (f) research diaries; and (g) maps, graphs, and statistical charts.

Last year an intensive study was made of the Claremont Church, which is the only church in the community. During the present academic year two main projects are under way: (a) a study of cultural conflicts and accommodation of the local Mexican area; and (b) an analysis of the leisure time activities of the community at large.

A small college town provides a good laboratory for experimentation with research techniques and permits an intensive examination of contemporary culture in much the same way that anthropologists observe primitive life. The origins of groups and the characteristic social changes may be traced. Comprehensive exploration is made possible without an unreasonable outlay of time, effort, and money. Then, too, the community may be used as a laboratory to train students in sociological research.

A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN SHANGHAI. The purpose of this study, now being carried on by Herbert D. Lamson of the University of Shanghai, is to investigate the origin, growth, and function of the American Community in Shanghai, with special reference to: (1) the relationships between the Americans and the Chinese; (2) the points of conflict and cooperation between national groups; (3) the functioning of an immigrant group living in the midst of a large cosmopolitan seaport-metropolis having a huge native population; (4) the effects of Shanghai upon the culture of Americans living there; (5) how Americans retain to such a large degree their own life and institutions as at home; and (6) how ideas and things American influence Shanghai.

Many different methods are utilized in approaching the situation: the historical, the statistical, the case method, and the ecological. Large use is made of interviews, direct observation, clippings, personal and form letters. Primary historical sources in municipal, consular, and mission records, as well as in newspaper files, are available almost back to the opening of the port to foreign trade in 1843. Secondary historical sources are fairly plentiful through formal histories of the city and references to the city in general works on China. For information concerning the last four or five decades living inhabitants are utilized to supplement written material. The general approach is that of the cultural anthropologist rather than that of the historian or political scientist.

The study thus far reveals that although American merchants and missionaries have been in Shanghai since the opening of the port to foreign trade, the British have dominated the English-speaking community and the International Settlement, both politically and socially. In the last two or three decades, however, the numerical strength and growing interests of the Americans have led to the establishment of many separate American institutions and an accompanying intensification of community consciousness. The Community Church, American School, American Legion, Daughters of the American Revolution, Association of Spanish-American War Veterans, American Women's Club, American Association of University Women, American University Club, American Club, Columbia Country Club, American Company Volunteers, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, American Masonic Lodges, American Chamber of Commerce, and the organizations of the American Marines and Naval Men, as well as the missionary, governmental, and business organizations, are distinctly American in character.

Most of the Americans reside in the two foreign settlements, the greatest concentration being in a rather recently developed residential section of the French Concession in the vicinity of the American School, the Community Church, and the American Masonic Building. Several groups of American missionaries live in Chinese administered territory in compounds which have been developed over a long period in connection with schools, churches, or hospitals. Before this concentration of Americans in the French Concession took place, many lived in a district known as Hongkew, but the changing character of the area and the removal of the American School to "Frenchtown," coupled with the coming in of many Chinese and Japanese, led to the shift to a newly developed part of the city several miles to the southwest.

Americans do not plant their roots very deeply in Shanghai. They remain in a foreign community operating their own institutions in their own way, educating their children in the American School, sending them back to the States to college, and they themselves having regular furloughs. Most Americans expect to return to the United States sooner or later and continue to think of Shanghai as only a place of temporary residence. Uncertainty as to tenure of position may be said to be increasing owing to greater Chinese participation in places of leadership in both business and missionary circles. In the last five years, owing to intensified nationalism and the desire to be independent of foreign domination, there has been more utilization of native talent, a greater willingness (sometimes grudgingly given) on the part of foreigners to admit Chinese to privileges, prerogatives, and positions formerly regarded as solely for non-Chinese. This is seen in admission of natives to public parks, to membership on the Municipal Council and other positions in the foreign concessions, and in the election of Chinese as heads of mission schools. Returned Chinese students perform many activities which formerly were carried on by foreigners. This leaves many Americans in a state of uncertainty.

American influence in Shanghai is seen in motor cars and motion pictures, and to some extent in home architecture, in the press, in educational institutions for Chinese, and through the returned Chinese students from America who bring back many ideas which are put into practice in their own lives.

Social Fiction Notes

MELVIN J. VINCENT

JOB. THE STORY OF A SIMPLE MAN. By JACOB ROTH.
Translation by Dorothy Thompson. The Viking Press, Inc.,
New York, 1931, pp. 279.

Majestic in its simplicity of style, beautifully told and potent in its power to arouse, is the saga of Mendel Singer, the Russian Jew, whose life is a near facsimile of that perplexingly fascinating Biblical character, Job. Living in a small Russian village, Mendel Singer supports his family by teaching Bible reading to an ever-dwindling class of young boys. His wife, Deborah, a siren daughter, Miriam, two sons, an epileptic infant, Menuchim, comprise the household. Following the Testament narrative, troubles beset and engulf Mendel in alarming calamities. One of his sons is conscripted; the other escapes to America, Miriam falls a willing prey to the seductions of the Cossacks, quartered in the nearby barracks. Menuchim seems destined to remain the ill-shapen, non-communicative epileptic. But from far-off America comes word of the fortunes of his son, and soon comes the invitation to cross the ocean to the promised land. Reluctantly, Mendel and Deborah give up Menuchim and strike out for the new land, where perhaps Miriam will forget her Cossacks. In New York, fortune smiles at first, but the war breaks out, and the finger of fate draws a dark curtain across the brightness of the Singer home. Deborah falls dead when she hears that her son has died in battle, and Mendel is left alone, for Miriam has found that the new world also has its Cossacks. As if he needed further chastisement, Miriam suffers an attack of insanity and is sent to an asylum. Then it is, that Mendel loses faith in God, and calls him an outrageously brutal Russian official who delights in sadistic practices. His prayer book is put away, and he encourages the wrath of God to strike down upon him. His is now a prayer of defiance. But his fellow-countrymen do not allow him to be completely isolated; their faith in Jahweh is still strong, for they have known of Job. It is the slim thread of the memory of Menuchim which helps them in their support, for

Mendel is bending every effort to get the passage money back to Russia, where he may fling his worn body into the soil which, he thinks, has already claimed Menuchim. But the day of miracles has not passed. Mendel is informed that a stranger has asked for him, a stranger who has delighted the music-lovers of New York with a soul-stirring sonata, called the Song of Menuchim. And the stranger proves indeed to be the longed-for son. Mendel's God is restored, and in his benevolent and warm kindness, old Mendel Singer finds comfort once more. The ending may tax the credulity of many readers, but the spiritual atmosphere encompassing the whole story makes the ending, after all, seem not out of place with the quiet and simple dignity of the faith of a Mendel Singer.

The sincere portrayal of the folkways and traditions of the humble Russian village Jew, and the brilliant insight into the characters of Mendel and Deborah with which the author has invested his tale, are outstanding contributions in the novel. The picture of the grey bearded Mendel, garbed in the greenish-black caftan and old rep cap, treading the streets of New York's Ghetto is a memorable one. Not less convincing is the picture drawn of the busy Ghetto household of his friends, the Skovronneks. Here is a veritable slice of life that is found in the Ghetto. The novel has been translated with admirable skill by Dorothy Thompson, in whose hands it has evidently retained that strange subtlety of beautiful lyric prose which must have characterized the original.